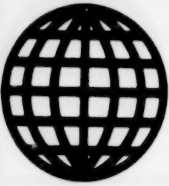


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JPRS Report

West Europe



25 AUGUST 1987

WEST EUROPE

CONTENTS

POLITICAL

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

- Norwegian Columnist on Denmark's Term as EC Chairman
(Per Nordrum; AFTENPOSTEN, 1 Jul 87) 1

AUSTRIA

- Mock's Position, Political Difficulties Examined
(Christoph Kotanko, Franz Ferdinand Wofl; PROFIL,
1 Jun 87) 3

- Busek Predicted To Be Mock's Successor as OeVP Head
(Franz Ferdinand Wolf; PROFIL, 22 Jun 87) 9

DENMARK

- Polls Indicate Social Democratic Party, Jorgensen in Trouble
(BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, 16 Jul 87) 13

Youth Moving Leftward, by Carl Otto Brix, et al. 13

Jorgensen Losing Grip, by Carl Otto Brix, et al. 14

List of Possible Successors, by Carl Otto Brix, et al. 16

Social Democrats Prefer Auken 18

Conservative Paper Views Problems, Editorial 20

- Nonsocialist Coalition Threatened by Christian Party Move
(HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 8 Feb 87) 21

Bjerregard Increasingly Seen as SDP Prime Minister Candidate (HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 8 Feb 87)	22
FINLAND	
Moscow-Oriented CP Faction Chairman, Paper View Issues (TIEDONANTAJA, 31 Mar 87)	26
Halkola Discusses Election Results, by Rioto Repo	26
Party Congress Assessed, Editorial	30
Warning Against EC Ties	31
Deva Appalled at Prospect of Conservatives in Government (HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 13 Apr 87)	32
Communist Press on Formation of New Government Coalition (TIEDONANTAJA, 22 Apr 87; KANSAN UUTISET, 24 Apr 87)	34
Stalinist Faction Attacks SDP, Editorial	34
CP Chairman Views Election	35
Eurocommunist Paper Views Prospects, Editorial	38
Poll on Presidential Candidates: Youth Reject Vayrynen (Jyrki Vesikansa; UUSI SUOMI, 10 May 87)	40
Poll Finds 64 Percent Support Holkeri Government (UUSI SUOMI, 10 May 87)	43
Red-Blue Coalition Forcing Changes on Center Party, Vayrynen (UUSI SUOMI, 16 May 87; HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 21, 22 May 87)	46
Party's 'Deep Identity Crisis', Editorial	46
Vayrynen Precluded Cabinet Post	47
Presidential Campaign's New Theme	50
Youth Political Apathy Reflected in Weaker Party Auxiliaries (HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 24 Jun 87)	53
Less Interest in Ideology, by Paavo Rautio	53
Activity Outside Political Parties	55
Polls Confirm New Attitudes, Editorial	56
Ease in East-West Tensions Widens Foreign Policy Options (Pekka Sivonen; HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 26 Jun 87)	58
Briefs	
Stalinist Youth Groups Expelled	62
Communist Party Sanctions 'Neutrality'	62
CP Quashes 'Democratic Centralism'	62

NORWAY

Poll Indicates Continued Opposition to EC Membership (AFTENPOSTEN, 27 Jun, 1 Jul 87)	63
Only 28 Percent Favor	63
Dane: 'Member Before 2000', by Thorkild Dahl	63

MILITARY

AUSTRIA

Army Forced To Absorb Industry's Unsold Arms Production (F. Korkisch; INDUSTRIE, 3 Jun 87)	65
---	----

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Possibilities for Upgrading Leopard 2 Analyzed (Paul-Werner Krapke; WEHRTECHNIK, Apr 87)	69
Wellershoff Urges Cautious Policy for Weaponry Innovation (Dieter Wellershoff; WEHRTECHNIK, Jun 87)	77
Modernization Plans for Luftwaffe Weapons Systems Reviewed (Woffgang Flume; WEHRTECHNIK, Jun 87)	86

FINLAND

Coastal Artillery To Acquire Swedish-Made RBS-15 Missiles (Jukka Knuuti; UUSI SUOMI, 14 May 87)	93
--	----

ECONOMIC

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Industries Claim High Energy Costs Hurt Competitiveness (SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, 15 Jun 87)	96
Editorial Favors Dismantling of Agricultural Price Supports (Editorial, Klaus Peter Krause; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 23 Jun 87)	98

FINLAND

Hard-Line CP Paper on USSR Trade (Editorial; TIEDONANTAJA, 25 Mar 87)	101
--	-----

PORTUGAL

Statistics Show Rise in Balance of Trade Deficit (O JORNAL, 3 Jul 87)	102
--	-----

Poll Shows Concern Over Consumption Rise (EXPRESSO, 4 Jul 87)	105
--	-----

SPAIN

Details on Financial Situation of Explosives Manufacturing Firm (MERCADO, 3-9 Jul 87)	111
--	-----

SOCIAL

DENMARK

Urban Housing Shortage Unites Discontented 'Surplus' Youth (HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 31 Jan 87)	113
--	-----

ITALY

Results of Survey on Nationalism in South Tyrol (Xaver Zauberer; L'UNITA, 9 May 87)	117
--	-----

ISTAT Poll Shows Traditional Family Work Structures (Roberto Petrini; LA REPUBBLICA, 29 May 87)	119
--	-----

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NORWEGIAN COLUMNIST ON DENMARK'S TERM AS EC CHAIRMAN

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 1 Jul 87 p 8

[Commentary by Per Nordrum: "Denmark Can Surprise"]

[Text] Beginning today and for the rest of the year Denmark will sit as the chairman country in the EC Council of Ministers. Expectations about Danish leadership in the often complex tugs-of-war in the council are small. But that does not prevent Copenhagen from being able to create surprises in certain areas, despite the inheritance from the Belgian chairmanship being nothing to envy.

From a Norwegian standpoint there is a special reason to observe what the nonsocialist coalition government of Prime Minister Poul Schluter can do to elevate the position of security and defense policy on the agenda of foreign policy cooperation (EPS).

When the Western European Union (WEU) had its minister meeting in Luxembourg at the end of April, Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen said that it should be interesting for Denmark to seek membership in the WEU. Only the Benelux countries, Italy, France, West Germany and Great Britain belong to the WEU.

The WEU--which is older than the EC, but younger than NATO--has never been a strong, active forum for European security and defense policy. Since 1984 the parties have tried to blow new life into the WEU.

The background for the efforts to revive WEU are the voices in the United States which are continuously calling louder that Western Europe must assume more of the responsibility for its own defense. Which in turn has caused Europeans to talk more seriously about really finding their own place and playing their own role in the world, independent of the United States.

Also, within the Socialist International (SI) it is now good form to look positively at strengthening the independence of the western alliance's European foundations. That means that the Social Democrat Party, with the old fox Anker Jorgensen at the head, is watching the revival of the WEU with interest.

The touchy aspect for the Danes is just that the WEU does not want the Danes in its good society. The WEU countries work well together. None of them put high moral judgments in the seat of honor--as does the majority in the Folketing--or compose footnotes for NATO communiques. "Difficult" countries are not admitted to the WEU.

The Schluter government does not intend to be left at the post while work is going on to establish a European security and defense identity. Therefore it is assumed by observers that Foreign Minister Ellemann-Jensen will try to draw security and defense policy discussions more and more into EC foreign policy cooperation (EPS)--with the blessing of the Social Democrats.

Danish ministers in recent years have, in the best cases, come to council meetings in the EC with an unclear mandate. The majority in the Folketing Market Committee have in practice been the government's government. Pragmatic and shy, Schluters ministers have made the best of a hopeless situation.

Early last year Brussels bureaucrats and a number of politicians in the member countries behaved quite poorly when the Danes squabbled about how the unity act--the addendum to the Treaty of Rome--would be approved. When the people said yes in a plebiscite, and Denmark actually became the first country to ratify the Unity Act, criticism was silenced. Furthermore, the act goes into force today.

But the Danes have never been enamored of their EC partners. And as said above, little is expected of them in the chairmanship during the next six months. Everyone hopes that it will be possible to find solutions to the acute financial crisis soon, as the EC summit yesterday requested. And at the summit in Copenhagen in December it is intended to lay the foundation for long term financing of the association's activities.

Regardless of how it goes with Denmark's leadership of the EC, It should be said on their behalf that they made it clear why they entered the association when they did: Primarily they wanted to play a big part in the EC agricultural policies. The Danes cannot be criticized for not having done their part in being especially good and visionary "Europeans."

Even if this year's agriculture adjustment is settled overnight before this is read, the deeper agricultural crisis with its enormous costs and colossal overproduction is not solved. Neither is it possible before Chancellor Helmut Kohl has harvested the farm votes in the state election in Schleswig-Holstein in September. But then it is only a quarter until Kohl himself is chairman of the EC council, and perhaps he would like to take the credit for an eventual solution.

Possibly it will be the Danes who have laid the foundation for solid reform. Ingratitude is the world's reward!

9287
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MOCK'S POSITION, POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES EXAMINED

Vienna PROFIL in German 1 Jun 87 pp 12-15

[Article by Christoph Kotanko and Franz Ferdinand Wolf: "About Dying in Stability--Alois Mock, a Man of Many Moods and all Moods"]

[Text] It was almost a holiday. In the morning, the inauguration of a kindergarten at Euratsfeld, bass band very familiar faces, a safe domestic performance. Then by private car to Vienna for a series of appointments--five that very afternoon. Boldly he drops the plan to go through some papers at the ministry in the late evening hours. So he will get home as early as 10 or 10:30 p.m. A rare luxury.

Alois Mock is a workaholic, work is his drug. He makes appointment after appointment without giving it a thought. He operates the way he thinks he must operate: dependably, automatically, as determined by extraneous factors, without reflection--to the point of exhaustion.

With some hesitation he enters the downtown coffeehouse where loud tourists are gabbing about a Vienna located somewhere between dream and reality. No one takes any notice of the deputy chancellor, foreign minister, party chairman, and IDU chairman as he winds his way toward us past the fully occupied coffeehouse tables, dressed in a beige lightweight silk raincoat.

Only the waiter, trained to recognize VIP's, knows who he is--and immediately brings him a cappuccino.

Alois Mock hails from a place deep in Lower Austria. There is his political biotope where he surmises he enjoys support for his politics. There he feels at home--he who, as his faithful press spokesman, Herbert Vytiska, puts it, "has more party friends than true friends." This despite the fact that he has long since been at home elsewhere: in the gray political world of government and party headquarters, where appearances invariably determine reality.

The conversation drags in the beginning. Without any emotion and without any visible reaction, he comments on the fact that in the opinion of the public the People's Party now cannot be sure of the support of more than one-third of the electorate.

A downhill ride too constitutes motion.

"It definitely can take some time," he says unmoved; "that depends on expectations: now things are getting better, now things are changing. And then one discovers that basically hardly anything can be accomplished anytime quickly."

His words are a single shrug.

Rather than formulate a "different kind of politics," predict improvement, or at least search for a way out, he escapes into the past: "First they said the People's Party will not be able to stand being the opposition party or put up with Dr Kreisky's absolute majority--and yet the OeVP [Austrian People's Party] has shown enormous stamina."

The cause of the dissatisfaction, he says, is the kind of politics that now happens to be called for--reform and repair. "There doesn't exist any precedent of a consistent austerity policy and a constant high at the same time."

He accepts the low with mild demurrals, saying that Maggie Thatcher and Jacques Chirac had similar problems with inheriting socialist policies.

The routinely offered attempt at an explanation falls short of the mark. We point out that after all the partner in the coalition, the SPÖ [Austrian Socialist Party], is having the same problems but, according to opinion polls, is enjoying increasing support. So something has to be wrong with the OeVP politics.

Straightening his Black Watch waistcoat, Alois Mock leans back in the Jugendstil kind of upholstery, diverting his replies of the customary "of the other kind of politics, ladies and gentlemen" clichés. Slowly crossing his legs, he searches for words to get hold of the dilemma and himself. While in opposition, he says, the People's Party "had to point out things in a highly critical way, whereas now, in government, we are caught up in the discrepancy between short-term expectations and medium- and long-term reform."

That is the way it is. Whether it really has to be, he does not wonder about. He works hard to implement his promises and predictions from the time of opposition--knowing full well that that he has already failed. "I put the crossbar too high," he remarks preceptively, only to toe the line again at once, saying: "But I would act the same way again today, only the election campaign I would conduct differently."

The 53-year-old party chairman professes his compulsion to repeat: again he would like to run, to win, even if everything, particularly reality, militates against it.

Wedge in to the point of (political) inability to move between party desire and the ability to govern, he tries to explain some ways out of the maze. His reply resembles a trip in the time machine: "In order to make it, the OeVP must very clearly formulate its own policies and make them prevail."

It is better at making it prevail than at formulating them, he says, pointing proudly to the latest support for nationalized industry and the technology pot.

His predecessor, Norbert Steger, might have used the same words. Only he expressed himself in a shifty way, whereas Alois Mock does not even speak with peasant cunning.

We insist that surely the SPOe has exactly the same problems of portraying its policies and making them prevail, and yet the polls show increasing support for it among the electorate.

His attempts at explaining the OeVP misery soon circle around the "chancellor bonus."

Isn't the reason rather that Franz Vranitzky is following precisely those policies which the People's Party had planned in its many years in opposition--and is succeeding with them?

Alois Mock confirms this mechanically.

He has long since resigned himself to being second. He is running in place, not out to win, because in direct confrontation with the Socialist chancellor he clearly has not got a chance. In opinion polls, he barely comes up with one-third of Vranitzky's points--and the trend is downward.

The present does not bother him: he easily slips into the past, talking in quite general terms about the transitory nature of political careers. Bruno Kreisky, he says, always did better in polls than he, and even Chancellor Fred Sinowatz in the meantime had beaten him by several lengths. "I weathered that too," he says--more to himself than to us.

In bits, his politically abused personality becomes visible behind these somber words: "In the past it bothered me (at the start of a career, such a thing is hard to put up with); now it poses a problem."

Alois Mock talks about his sufferings as if it was a question of determining objective parameters for his state of affairs, and as if it was enough soberly to analyze a medium-size party disaster. He is cool and without sympathy for himself.

But it is not a sharp, precise, taxing, and intellectual analysis of the conditions and circumstances of political activity, but rather a brittle, somewhat awkward, and technocratic attempt to get himself and his personality out of the picture. It is an attempt to make the man disappear behind polished statements.

It is a functionary's job to function. Period--there is nothing more to be said on the subject.

Kohl, the German federal chancellor, stanchly lasts out the crises he faces. Alois Mock stanchly believes that he owes it to a crisis to last it out. Even if it is a personal one.

Alois Mock suffers in silence--from himself, the party, politics.

Whoever has known Alois Mock for some time perceives a radical change: while at one time he was taxed by party and politics, he now appears simply overtaxed.

Almost obstinately he does whatever he considers to be his duty. His actual position can in fact be described in terms of the posts he holds. As deputy chancellor he is the declared number two, as foreign minister he does not have any noteworthy political scope--and in the party he is tolerated as chairman because there is no alternative. "This is not the way, Alois" is something he is told time and again in party meetings, but does not hear any longer.

In small talk, even his fellow Lower Austrians are moving away from him, unsympathetically shaking their heads over many a Mock action, and demonstrating an unbroken solidarity with him now only toward the outside. Internally they have long since reconciled themselves to the need to find a replacement at the proper time before the next elections. The Styrians, as it is, are the natural enemies of any federal chairman, the Viennese are constantly on the lookout for alternative options, and both the Upper Austrians and the Salzburger really would like someone who takes actions.

Backing, support, and security he has long since ceased to enjoy in his party. So he takes refuge in the innumerable routine events where he receives the acclaim of "medium-level tradespeople, railway men, officials, and farmers," if only because these hope for some action on their behalf by the deputy chancellor or would like to find out how he is. "I did not feel his pulse, but he was sick, probably full of aspirins," notes lawyer Guenter Schusta, who got Alois Mock into trouble by doing him a favor. As senior philistine of the Sankt Poelten Catholic alumni association Floriana, he had invited his CV [Union of Catholics student organization] comrade to come and receive a CV decoration on the Austrian State Treaty holiday. Though ill, Mock went to see the comrades who wanted to express their support with student-color magic. Says Schusta: "The idea of the decoration occurred to us at the moment when the daggers of so-called party friends were directed against Alois."

The not quite 2 hours he spent in the familiar Catholic milieu earned him the ugly suspicion of being more serious about CV duties than about representing the republic vis-a-vis other countries, for on short notice he had canceled, for reasons of health, his attendance at a foreign ministers meeting in Cyprus.

In gatherings such as the one at Sankt Poelten, Mock tells about the remote effect of his terrible performance on election eve--"I notice how this matter had its effect on 23 November."

"This matter" is the origin of stubborn rumors about the party chairman being seriously ill.

"That thing with Parkinson's disease is not true," swears Mock's paladin Fritz Koenig, the party leader in Parliament; "all tests done at the Vienna University Clinic were clearly negative."

And Herbert Vytiska went so far as to write an article for the Catholic weekly DIE FURCHE entitled "Mock a Picture of Health."

Alois Mock himself by now is tired of issuing denials. "No comment whatever," he says, shutting off the subject, and then, somewhat surprisingly, displays some emotion, saying: "I don't have any intention of undressing completely; I have the right not to do that kind of thing."

The violence of his reaction, contrasting with the somewhat mechanically offered explanations of politics and with the subdued conversation, is embarrassing. To pursue the question would be more than Alois Mock is prepared to put up with. His discomfort is reflected in his movements: his left arm, which almost during the entire interview was resting on the arm of his chair, cuts through the thick air.

Turning to something more innocuous, we try to find out about the OeVP strategy concerning Joerg Haider's aggressive policy of opposition. In his campaign against the prerogatives of party membership and privileges, Haider scores wherever he can--even among the blacks [OeVP supporters].

It is almost with indifference that Mock put up with his being defeated with his own weapons. Rather than explain ideas, rather than elucidate his position and that of the People's Party and take up the challenge of competing with the populist from Carinthia, he merely manages to voice, in a somewhat resigned manner, the hope for wisdom and improvement, saying: "The system definitely can be developed without any great changes, but it must be accelerated massively. If the structures will not be more mobile in 3, 4 or 5 years--in other words, at the end of this legislative period--others will have to take a stab at it, only with much more radical means."

What he is saying between the lines makes one sit up and take notice, but he immediately waters down what he has said and draws a melancholy conclusion, saying: "The Austrian character, thank God, is opposed to extremism, but that can lead to dying in stability."

Almost persistently he fails to draw any further political conclusions from this status quo analysis. Alois Mock is tired of fighting. He does not fight any more unless it is a question of somehow maintaining his political existence. He knows what the various bodies' attitude toward him is but assuages himself with this statement: "As far as I am concerned, what counts is the direct vote in the party executive--in other words, to what extent I can count on support."

It is hardly possible to gauge the party's support any longer. So the party chairman gains confidence from the minor events of everyday politics. A member of the Bundesrat [upper house of Parliament], he notes, has written him a letter declaring his solidarity with the maltreated boss--"with copies to a number of people, and that does mean something." If the party, he wrote, did not stop its dismantling, he would chuck his post of provincial representative. Mock thinks this is a remarkable sign of the courage of one's convictions, for it is one's provincial party organization that more or less appoints one to the Bundesrat.

The casually offered story reveals his sensibilities. The wounds of a 20-year career in top-level politics have left scars which hardly permit any pain any longer.

Yet 17 years of opposition politics have affected his substance. On the way he has lost what he would be in urgent need of--a fighting spirit, the ability to persuade, a view of the big picture, and leadership qualities.

In melancholy terms, this means that the road has in fact been the objective. Though he now is where all political opportunities are located--in the government --he cannot take advantage of it either as far as he himself or as far as his party is concerned. He administers his participation in the government and administers his workday. He follows his routine with iron discipline--and fails to notice that it long since has become an end in itself.

What sustains and propels him is the back-slapping assent of the medium and small functionaries whom he believes to be the people. "If that isn't so any longer one day, I hope I will have the strength to say that politics isn't the only thing."

Having said so, he abruptly gets up, says good-bye with his programmed handshake, and leaves--for the next holiday appointment.

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BUSEK PREDICTED TO BE MOCK'S SUCCESSOR AS OeVP HEAD

Vienna PROFIL in German 22 Jun 87 pp 9-10

[Article by Franz Ferdinand Wolf: "Four Little Indians;; Replacement of Alois Mock as Vice-Chancellor and Party Chairman Is Settled. The Only Question: When and by Whom"]

[Text] The 64-dollar question brings only unsatisfactory answers: After the latest poll by "Fessel" opinion research institute, which is close to the OeVP, a sad 24 percent of the voters without second thoughts stated they would vote for the OeVP--"if there were National Council elections next Sunday."

With these raw data--without adding the undecided voters or those polled who steadfastly refuse to express a party preference because of the awful image of the OeVP--the smaller government party achieves the worst polling results since the introduction of the "64-dollar question" in 1966.

The "Ifes" poll, which is close to the SPOe (as an act of grand coalition help?) places the OeVP at 36 percent.

Be that as it may, Alois Mock's party has sustained dramatic losses. Therefore some party circles are looking for a way out from the decline.

What is common to all considerations is the fact that Alois Mock must part with his accumulated offices of party chairman, vice chancellor and foreign minister. But on his own. "The less talk and writing there is," a top man said in a confidential talk, "the simpler it will be for Alois to take the logical steps."

Alois Mock should and will step down from his positions as party chairman and vice chancellor--and will fully concentrate on being foreign minister.

Disregard the Austria image, the Waldheim burden. Foreign policy is his rightful profession--moreover the party cannot completely liquidate its hapless chairman.

In connection with the nearly desperate search for a successor as vice chancellor, all kinds of scenarios, which are then presented by the media as "secret plans," are making the rounds: Some are in favor of Robert Graf whose negotiating and media skill is supposed to benefit the government party group. Others object that he has enough to do with his mammoth economics ministry and the ministry's problems of privatization, highway construction and energy up to power plant construction, and he must not lose his magic as head of the government parliamentary group. Therefore they favor as vice chancellor Heinrich Neisser, director of the chancellory, who is the chief federalist of the coalition.

Too weak to bring the individualist team, which governs along between lobbying interests and media effective announcements, in line--the fundamentalists say.

Objections are also voiced against a double promotion of Agriculture Minister Josef Riegler. With all the reliability of his work, he lacks the political breadth and force of integration to be the first one to be successful. "We must be satisfied," one of them said, "if he somehow manages agriculture. There is nothing else there."

The fundamentalists favor a radical solution--the new person should come from the outside. The scenario is relatively simple: This fall and the latest the coming spring, Alois Mock should make the positions of party chairman and vice chancellor available and his double successor should come from the quartet of Josef Ratzenboeck, Erwin Proell, Wolfgang Schuessel, and Erhard Busek.

Of course the new person would have to join the government immediately to be able to distinguish himself as top candidate for the next elections. that in turn would mean that a member of the government would have to resign. Favorite sacrificial lamb: Environmental Minister Marilies Flemming.

The head of the "pper Austrian provincial government has already declined with thanks in the first exploratory talks. To put it more precisely: He informed questioners that he may possibly be prepared to be a candidate for party chairman but was definitely unwilling to embark on the path of trial and tribulation to Vienna or even into the government. He said he would want to remain in Linz even as party chairman--and can imagine joining a government, if at all, only after a gloriously fought election.

Now there were only three.

Erwin Proell, who as chief financial officer and vice chief of the head of the Lower Austrian provincial government, Siegfried Ludwig, cuts a good provincial figure, stated that he would not want to assume the position under any circumstances. Party office and direct confrontation

with Franz Vranitzky that is over his head, he says--everybody must realize the limits of his political possibilities. With this internal rejection he foiled at the same time the plans of parts of the Lower Austrian party who want to get rid of the Farmers League politician by recommending him for a higher position outside the province to ensure the succession to Ludwig for the AAB.

Now there are only two.

Wolfgang Schuessel, who as general secretary of the Economic League has a considerable power base and has scored points as economic policy chief negotiator of the coalition, meets with sympathy in broad segments of the party who are ready to change. But skeptics are bothered by the fear that Schuessel in direct confrontation with Vranitzky will ingloriously lose. And this because, just as Vranitzky, he occupies the political field of economic policy functionary--while Franz Vranitzky has worked as a director-general and his noble pin-striped image has an effect deep into the OeVP core electorate.

Thus the party hope once again revolves around Erhard Busek who for weeks has been considering personnel replacement strategies in the intimate circle of the President of the Department of Interstate Trade Rudolf Sallinger, Economics Minister Robert Graf, friend Wolfgang Schuessel, and Management Club Secretary Kurt Bergmann.

However, the Vienna vice mayor has a handicap--and a problem. The handicap is the party which does not forgive his quick and snappy words of criticism and regards him as not sufficiently predictable after the many curves of his past politics. But he could overcome the internal party hurdle with the help of Vienna, Styrian and Upper Austrian delegates and partial support from Salzburg and Lower Austria. Especially since, a Busek advocate points out, in the case of the candidacy a few additional delegates from other provinces would join in--the opinion gains ground that there is no alternative and it is bad enough so that it can only get better.

Busek's problem is, of course, the Vienna elections which will be held no later than next April. Under no circumstances is he able to leave city hall before that.

Therefore they are haggling about the date of the election in Vienna. In past weeks the city Reds have been carefully considering whether or not they should arrange an earlier date for the election, in October. As a precautionary measure they had sent junk mail to all Vienna youths as early as May and also made preparations for direct mail actions for senior citizens. Erhard Busek countered with posters showing his head in silhouette, full of OeVP actions up to a colorful bird.

The dates of 4 or 25 October are attractive as election dates. In early October the summer vacations keep away the Green students. An argument not to be underestimated for a snap election since the Greens can count on 6 to 8 percent of the votes according to all opinion polls--and thus the two big Vienna parties could be made to look old. Thus what is important is to neutralize the organization of the Greens.

The date of 25 October lies in the middle of a prolonged weekend around the national holiday and, as a result, voter participation would probably be drastically reduced.

What speaks against both dates and also against both Sundays is the fact that the Vienna provincial assembly would have to approve holding the election at an earlier date in a special summer session of the city parliament because of constitutional provisions. Thus Mayor Helmut Zilk swears he will let the legislative period run to its end. "I am of the opinion that one should serve to the end." But the added remarks immediately prove that he is a politician who keeps open all loopholes: "But in politics there is never a never--the world can come to an end, things can be in turmoil in Austria, there can be a public uproar. But according to what we know here and now, we are going to stick to serving out the period, definitely."

The strongest argument in favor of an early election is the federal politics: If Helmut Zilk succeeds in profiting from Vranitzky's flights of fancy then he will be able to hold the losses of votes and seats in parliament--signaled by opinion polls--of the Vienna SPOe within politically bearable limits. It seems to be inevitable that SPOe and OeVP will have to lose votes to Greens and liberal opposition. Losses could be dramatic for Erhard Busek: If the greens nibble away on the OeVP voter reservoir around the planned Danube development, a voter reservoir that Busek has filled a little with his environmental policy, then party chairman-vice mayor Busek could be out of the running ahead of time.

If Erhard Busek loses the vice mayor's chair, then the federal political dream is over. If he only loses votes and legislative seats, then he can probably make an attempt after Alois Mock.

12356
CSO: 3620/279

POLLS INDICATE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, JORGENSEN IN TROUBLE

Youth Moving Leftward

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 16 Jul 87 p 7

[Article by Carl Otto Brix, Thorkild Dahl and Per Lyngby; first paragraph is BERLINGSKE TIDENDE introduction]

[Text] The Social Democratic Party must find some way to live with the Socialist People's Party [SF] if it wants to get out of its current crisis, in the opinion of Professor Ole Borre. The party is feeling the effects of a decline in voters from one generation to the next.

"The Social Democratic crisis is really due to the fact that they have a large party, the Socialist People's Party, on their left."

That was the evaluation election expert Ole Borre, a professor at Aarhus University, made of the Social Democratic Party's situation as shown in a Gallup poll that was published in BERLINGSKE TIDENDE yesterday.

The poll showed that only 18 percent of the voters think the Social Democrats have a clearer policy than the nonsocialist government. Some 44 percent think the government has the clearest policy.

Just under half the voters think it would be an advantage for the Social Democrats to change leaders before the election, according to the Gallup poll. This opinion is shared by an equal number of Social Democrats.

When it comes to a successor for SDP chairman Anker Jorgensen, deputy chairman Svend Auken has the most support.

"The Social Democrats must find some way to get along with SF if they are to get the party out of its current crisis," said Ole Borre. "If the party is to solve the deeper underlying problems, an effort must be made to address young people. The party must speak the ideological language that appeals to young people, who are voting for the Socialist People's Party in increasing numbers."

Ole Borre added that the Social Democrats must also defend the front against the four coalition parties and the Radical Liberals. That front appeals more to older voters.

"It is a terrible problem for the Social Democratic Party that it is so poorly represented among young people. It is strong enough among the older voters, but they are the ones who acquired their political convictions sometime in the 1930's. And they have clung to them ever since. The Social Democratic Party is feeling the effect of the drop from one generation to the next," Ole Borre explained.

Jorgensen Losing Grip

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 16 Jul 87 p 7

[Article by Carl Otto Brix, Thorkild Dahl and Per Lyngby: "Stubborn Democrat"; first paragraph is BERLINGSKE TIDENDE introduction]

[Text] The man who surprised everyone except Jens Otto Krag in 1972 is trying with indomitable energy to make a comeback as prime minister even though the Gallup polls say that a majority of the respondents feel it would benefit the Social Democratic Party if it gets a new leader before the election.

Anker Henrik Jorgensen (65 years old on Monday) is a stubborn man as well as a democrat.

The first quality has led him to hold onto his position as the Social Democrats' candidate for prime minister in spite of a series of defeats. The second has created a situation where the free debate in the big party can easily be confused with lax discipline, giving the impression that everything is in a state of flux.

When the chairman of the Warehouse Workers Union sprang from the more anonymous position in the union movement and the Social Democratic Party to the brightly illuminated post of prime minister in 1972, it created a sensation.

Did he know what he was agreeing to when he and his wife Ingrid were given only a few hours to make up their minds when Jens Otto Krag said his stunning farewell to power?

Just a year after Anker Jorgensen stepped in, the government fell, but in 1975 he got another chance.

Anker Jorgensen, who achieved his position partly because he was an EC supporter, had to fight internally against a tough and talented group of EC opponents and externally he was hit with all the economic problems. He tried to solve them by cooperating with first one group and then another in the sharply divided Folketing in a series of August and September compromises,

but it did not do much good. The balance of payments deficit, the state deficit, unemployment and inflation grew at an alarming rate.

Nor did it help that Anker Jorgensen did the boldest thing a Social Democrat has ever done. He formed a government with the Liberal Party. The idea was stillborn, which became obvious after a few months had gone by. Both sides abandoned the effort with a sigh of relief and the attempt did not really cost either side any votes. However the Social Democratic leader faced internal disciplinary action.

The revival of the four-party nonsocialist cooperation gave notice that time was running out for the Social Democrats at that time. It became harder and harder for Anker Jorgensen to get majority support and in the final months the prime minister's office provided the setting for the tragicomic attempt to get the Radical Liberals and the Socialist People's Party to vote for the same things. Of course this was unsuccessful and in September 1982 it was all over.

Without calling an election the Social Democrats relinquished government power to the four nonsocialist parties with an interlude that the public did not know anything about: Anker Jorgensen had a talk with the next prime minister, Poul Schluter.

It has been speculated that the conversation could have concerned the possibility of forming a government made up of the two parties. But far too many ideological differences argued against this alternative at the time and besides, why say yes to serving as foreign minister when one could be prime minister?

The Social Democrats and their leaders were firmly convinced that the non-socialist government would be a parenthesis in Denmark's political history. The four parties and the nonsocialist cooperation would soon fall apart and the stable Social Democratic Party would be implored to assume power again.

Gradually, as the parenthesis became so long that it resembled an entire paragraph, frustration mounted in the big opposition party. As had happened in previous opposition periods, the former ministers had a hard time realizing that they were no longer in control of the administrative apparatus or in a position of power.

This was reflected among other things in an attempt to topple the government by voting against the 1984 budget bill, but the result simply reinforced the four-party coalition.

Since then the party has heralded cooperation with SF, but as a rule Anker Jorgensen is careful about stressing that this will not rule out cooperating with other parties.

The picture the public has of Anker Jorgensen as the honest man of the people who keeps his word is not shared by the politicians he has dealt with.

They say that he uses the old trade unionist trick of alternately threatening and beseeching and then interprets the results of the negotiations to suit himself.

Anker Jorgensen may have learned something from the opposition period. But he may never get a chance to use what he has learned, for if the election that will be held in a few months does not produce a socialist majority, Poul Schluter will continue to serve as prime minister and the stubborn fighter will have to concede defeat for himself and his party.

Next year the Social Democratic Party will hold a congress and after the many irregular elections of party leaders, perhaps for once the party will abide by its by-laws and allow the congress to select the new chairman and candidate for prime minister.

List of Possible Successors

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 16 Jul 87 p 7

[Article by Carl Otto Brix, Thorkild Dahl and Per Lyngby]

[Text] The Social Democratic Party congress a good year from now will have a major theme: who will the chairman be? Anker Jorgensen could stay on, but several candidates are being mentioned with varying degrees of support, as shown in BERLINGSKE TIDENDE's Gallup poll.

Svend Auken, 44 years old. Deputy chairman and the strongest bid as chairman and thus the party's candidate for prime minister when Anker Jorgensen decides to call it quits.

Svend Auken is Anker Jorgensen's man. It is not just in jest that Anker Jorgensen looks up to the lanky Auken, but Anker Jorgensen cannot be sure of naming his successor personally unless he regains government power and passes the prime minister's post on to Svend Auken.

Anker Jorgensen has mentioned Svend Auken as a good successor, but Auken's biggest handicap could be his close association with the party chairman. If Anker Jorgensen goes down to another election defeat, for example, Svend Auken could fall with him. Official heirs have not had an easy time in the Social Democratic Party, especially when Anker Jorgensen decides to keep going. Former Foreign Minister Kjeld Olesen was the heir apparent for a long time, but he will be leaving politics altogether after the next election.

Svend Auken also has a strong position internally. He is the unifying figure in a divided Folketing group. And Svend Auken gets good marks outside the Social Democratic ranks, especially from Conservatives, who also had a showdown with the Liberals and took Svend Auken's part when the former labor minister's role in the so-called maintenance allowance scandal with regard to the state's loss of interest on advance benefit payments was

being discussed in Folketing. On the other hand, Svend Auken is not the Radical Liberals' cup of tea. Leading Radicals say it is impossible to make Anker Jorgensen stick to his word for only a couple of weeks and that Svend Auken is just as "slippery."

Svend Jakobsen, 51 years old. Folketing speaker, highly respected and much more politically ambitious than one might think from his modest and quiet demeanor in the public arena.

He is the clear alternative to Svend Auken and he has no political scars at all. Svend Jakobsen is respected by all the factions in the Folketing group even though he suffered a minor political defeat when he did not get into the narrow leadership that sets the current official course of the Social Democratic Party. Svend Jakobsen used to be part of what is called the daily leadership.

But the change was purely structural in nature and did not reflect any dissatisfaction with Svend Jakobsen. Jakobsen also continues to be mentioned by Social Democratic Folketing members as a potential candidate when the time is ripe.

At Christiansborg, Svend Jakobsen is the hardworking speaker of Folketing who is working to modernize Folketing activities with a sense of humor and a degree of charm that is unknown to the general public combined with political skill. It is a big job and although Svend Jakobsen smiles disarmingly when journalists ask about his political ambitions in the party, as they frequently do, he is the only politician who has a prospect of having held the two top posts in a democracy, speaker of Folketing and government leader.

Ritt Bjerregaard, 46 years old. She is the dark horse in this contest. Forceful, hardworking and in possession of unusual political flair, she has placed herself at the table where the decisions are made in the Social Democratic Party.

And she has demonstrated great authority in taking over the leadership of the usually unruly group meetings, so that even Anker Jorgensen has to ask for the floor.

Ritt Bjerregaard can muster a lot of support in the Folketing group, but on the other hand those who do not support her have chosen to move a step farther away. Ritt Bjerregaard is not the unifying figure of the Social Democratic Party and there are many mayors around the country who have not forgotten Ritt's tongue-lashings. After many years of working for the party, its representatives do not wish to be described as custodians and union career men.

Ritt Bjerregaard has distinguished herself with a number of striking attacks but has withdrawn from the burning spotlight to pull the fascinating strings of power more anonymously.

Ritt Bjerregaard would not be the first Nordic woman prime minister. That distinction went to Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway's Labor Party. But Ritt Bjerregaard has shown ability and a determination to do something in politics.

Knud Heinesen, 55 years old. The former deputy chairman and political spokesman has changed direction and today he is not a contender for the title of SDP heir apparent.

Knud Heinesen resigned all official party posts in the fall of 1985 and as director of Copenhagen's Airport, Knud Heinesen has in his own words "finished the political part of my life and started on a new course."

Mogens Lykketoft, 41 years old. The young former tax minister does not yet have enough political weight to be a real contender for the chairmanship.

Mogens Lykketoft is in the middle of an interlude in his political career and will use the time ahead to concentrate on removing the impression that he is solely interested in tax policy.

Lykketoft will expand his field of interest and leave all committees where the word "taxation" comes up. For the time being he will throw himself into foreign policy issues and he is expected to continue to be one of the group's outstanding politicians who also wants a really top-level political career.

Social Democrats Prefer Auken

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 16 Jul 87 p 7

[Text] Some 42 percent of Social Democratic voters named the party's deputy chairman, former Labor Minister Svend Auken, as their choice to succeed Anker Jorgensen, while only half that number, 21 percent, wanted former Finance Minister Svend Jakobsen, deputy chairman of Folketing, to succeed Jorgensen.

This was shown by the Gallup poll that BERLINGSKE TIDENDE published yesterday.

Due to a technical error, the line showing who Social Democrats wanted to see as chairman was omitted from the table that was printed at the end of the Gallup poll.

The question asked in the Gallup poll was: "There has been an open discussion of who should succeed Anker Jorgensen as chairman of the Social Democratic Party. Which of these Social Democratic politicians do you think should succeed Anker Jorgensen?"

Here are the answers, expressed in percentages:

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>All Re-</u> <u>spondents</u>	<u>To Right</u> <u>of SDP</u>	<u>SDP</u>	<u>To Left</u> <u>of SDP</u>
Svend Jakobsen	19	28	21	7
Ritt Bjerregaard	7	5	6	14
Svend Auken	29	21	42	53
Knud Heinesen	11	17	5	4
Mogens Lykketoft	3	4	2	5
Don't know	31	25	24	17
Total	100	100	100	100



The Rise and Fall of Anker Jorgensen

Key:

1. Voter support in percentages
2. Average of the most recent Gallup polls

Conservative Paper Views Problems

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 16 Jul 87 p 7

[Editorial: "With and Without Anker Jorgensen"]

[Text] What a birthday present! The day after party employees and Folkeeting group members presented Social Democratic chairman and former Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen with a garden bench on his 65th birthday in the hope that he will remain seated for a long time, a Gallup poll indicated that he ought to resign before the fall election.

Some 42 percent of a representative sample of the voting public said it would be an advantage for the Social Democratic Party to change leaders before the election, while 37 percent disagreed. Surprising? Not at all--but it is worth noting that more Social Democrats (45 percent) than non-socialist voters (41 percent) want to change leaders. Here and now.

Perhaps the reason can also be sought in the Gallup poll. Only 18 percent of the voters felt the Social Democrats have a clearer policy than the government has. It is and will continue to be a problem for the Social Democrats that after 5 years in the opposition they still seem lost and lacking any goals except government power. Power for what? And power in cooperation with whom? Their major competitor, SF?

In this situation it is quite natural that a majority of the party's voters are pointing to what may be the easiest solution, a leadership change. But who says this will be a solution? There are many indications that the Social Democratic Party's--well-deserved--inability to succeed is due to the party's by now legendary conservatism with regard to waves of public feeling to the right as well as the left of the party. On the one hand the four-party nonsocialist coalition has demonstrated its ability to govern. The Social Democratic "birthright" to form a government has been broken. The Conservatives have won back the salaried employees in the private sector as a stable voter group. On the other hand SF has a grip on salaried employees in the public sector. This leaves the Social Democrats with voter groups that are getting smaller and smaller. And the average age is high.

On Monday Harry Rasmussen, editor in chief of the old AKTUELT, wrote in a profile of Anker Jorgensen in DET FRI AKTUELT that "there are many problems in Anker Jorgensen's life and it is a problem for the Social Democrats that the question of a successor has been dragged out. At the same time this demonstrates Anker Jorgensen's popularity in the party."

The garden bench was certainly a well-meant present for the aging party chairman. Of course the Social Democrats as a whole want Anker Jorgensen to have one last election victory to retire on. But the latest Gallup poll, like most of the other opinion polls, shows that the Social Democratic Party lacks striking power with Anker Jorgensen at the helm. That might also be the case with Svend Auken as chairman, but only time will tell. That is the Social Democratic Party's problem.

NONSOCIALIST COALITION THREATENED BY CHRISTIAN PARTY MOVE

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 8 Feb 87 p 34

[Text] Copenhagen--The government plan for combatting pollution of the sea has left a gaping rift between the coalition's Christian and Venstre parties.

When the government discussed this 12 million kroner environmental protection plan the agriculture minister, Britta Schall Holberg of the Venstre Party, was already familiar with a report drafted by the environment ministry that the environment minister, Christer Christensen of the Christian Party, had not even seen yet.

The new plan calls on agriculture to cut in half the nitrogen and phosphorus compounds that it dumps into the environment. After the government had already approved the plan agricultural producers' organizations published the environment ministry report figures. Using these figures these organizations were able to show that agriculture's pollution of seawater is only marginal.

Environment minister Christensen, unaware of the report's contents, was in a ticklish situation but did claim that the agricultural producers had misinterpreted the statistics.

Agriculture minister Schall Holbert at first denied familiarity with the report, but did admit Friday to "having known its main points." In Schall Holbert's opinion Christensen needs to keep himself informed.

Christensen and the Christian Party are now demanding that prime minister Poul Schluter call Schall Holbert to order. "This is the worst incident that I have seen happen in Danish domestic politics," complained the chairman of the Christians' parliamentary group, Jens Steffensen.

"Hopefully Schall Holberg will have some manner of explanation for the prime minister," said Christensen.

Schluter, of the Conservative Party was himself out of town getting into shape on his 12-speed bike in Lanzarote.

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BJERREGAARD INCREASINGLY SEEN AS SDP PRIME MINISTER CANDIDATE

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 8 Feb 87 p 34

[Text] Every Dane seems to have a strong opinion, either pro or con, about Ritt Bjerregaard.

She is a very visible Social Democratic politician who really appears to her credit on the television screen; a beautiful woman who skillfully cultivates her image as a girl who went from a working class home to a very comfortable way of life.

In many a person's opinion she is not an ordinary opposition politician but a living symbol.

This is election year in Denmark. If the Social Democrats gain the responsibility of forming the government, as certain polls indicate, Ritt Bjerregaard could very well be the next prime minister.

She is a legend in her own time. Last year a book was written about her that tells about her weekend marriage, voluntary childlessness, her gardening hobby and the opinions her male colleagues in parliament have about her.

Ritt would not be as famous with the Ritz. She got fired when she was a young minister of education, a woman minister. An afternoon tabloid revealed how extravagantly she had lived in the Hotel Ritz of Paris while on an official trip. Her two weeks in a hotel suite, luncheons and dinners, a car with a chauffeur ran the taxpayers' bill up to 35,000 markkas, and that was a lot of money in the year 1978. The story made the front page of newspapers for weeks.

In her opinion a minister should live at a good address. Besides that a male minister would not have been publicity scourged in the same way.

She spent a year as a rank and file member of parliament and then returned to a government post taking full advantage of her reputation as a hard-nosed politician.

A Relaxed Atmosphere

There is a relaxed atmosphere in Christianborg Castle, home of Denmark's parliament, and no one even bothers to ask the name of a casual visitor.

Oh, there is a buzz of excitement there and the debates in the chamber are lively to a degree utterly unheard of in Finland.

Everyone in parliament is asking each other for guesses about the timing of the next elections; whether they will be later this spring or in October.

Generally labor relations negotiations are quite rowdy affairs in Denmark where there are hundreds of trade unions. This year reaching an agreement was uncommonly easy and it was achieved six weeks before the target date.

Government might call for elections to be held already in May. The next likely time would be in October. September is out of the question as Denmark is slated to chair the EC's ministers' council at that time.

The Danish political joke is that 1971 was the last year a majority governed the country.

The Social Democrats governed Denmark virtually all of the 70's. Now for the last five years Denmark has had a coalition government led by prime minister Poul Schluter's Conservative Party and filled out by the centrist Venstre Party, the Christian Party and the Centrist Democratic party which split away from the Social Democrats.

Sometimes a government like this is called a collage of 15 ministers instead of a 15 minister team.

Since the 1984 election representation in parliament has been 93-82 in favor of the non-socialist parties.

Denmark had nine political parties. Of these two are leftist parties launched in the 60's and three are rightist parties launched in the 70's. One of these, the Progressive Party of Mogens Glistrup, has, for all practical purposes, ceased to function.

"Not Even A Bit of Understanding"

"In the book about me there is not even a bit of understanding about politics. It is hard and relentless," says Ritt Bjerregaard.

She is now 45 years old and clearly a very hard worker. She is a member of the following committees: foreign affairs, treasury, and environment. On top of these she is a state auditor and a member of a council dealing with the effects of technology.

She is still on the sexiest lists of Denmark's magazines just as she was in the 70's when she became a minister.

Her parliamentary caucus office women try to outdo one another in praising her: Ritt is fair, smart and compassionate. "When the men and Ritt are sitting in a meeting and papers are taken in to them, Ritt is the only one who, as a rule, pays any attention to the entrant."

On the coatrack of the parliamentary caucus leader's office there hangs the famous symbolic loden jacket of the Social Democrats, which she is using to negate stories about her expensive clothes.

As an opposition politician she is critical of the government. "The record of the Schluter government shows that they have cut public expenses, especially social security and unemployment compensation. The rich have gotten richer and the poor poorer."

Bjerregaard says that the conservative forces in the EC have, of course, inspired one another, but she still considers Denmark to be an exception. There one still cannot get away with some of the things that are done elsewhere; privatization cannot even be mentioned, the rejection of such has become too firm a tradition.

"When they tried to make hospital care a pay as you go deal the uproar was so terrific that the government had to cancel its plan. The same happened to the proposal that would have instituted seven non-benefit days before sick leave pay could be drawn."

"Instead of privatization the government now talks of modernization but it means the same thing."

The Schluter government has chastized Danes with various tax programs and frugality measures; the so-called potato diets.

"The government has gotten away with it until now because people accept the premise that Denmark's economy needs to be enhanced somehow. I think that is why all kinds of belt-tightenings do not cause as much bitterness as they could."

"It is, of course, frightening that the balance of payments has not improved in spite of the belt-tightening. Instead the deficit just keeps getting worse."

She says that the bourgeois parties have naturally lost supporters with their actions. She does add, however, that people also associate the Social Democratic leadership with the poor economic policies and not entirely without cause.

The former left-winger in the Social Democratic Party, Bjerregaard, has shocked party left wing members by talking about strictly controlling the public sector. She even considers the buying of services from the private sector to be feasible.

Red Partnership Offered

Left of the Social Democrats on the political spectrum is the Socialist People's Party which has shown dramatic growth. It is now Denmark's third largest party after the Social Democratic party, which is largest, and the Conservative Party, which is second.

The Socialist People's Party is offering the Social Democrats a partnership platform. This contains a demand to dismantle all of the acts of the present right wing government that have "weakened the minimal living standards of the working people." The platform also states that "the good of Denmark is more important than the good of the EC" and that the degree of participation in NATO must be reduced.

Bjerregaard does not seem thrilled by the offer. She feels that the best partners for the Social Democrats will come from the small parties on the right. In her opinion the Christian Party has a lot of thoughts in line with her own on the issues of environment and social welfare.

What is the best thing about Denmark that makes Rith Bjerregaard's heart beat faster?

"The fact that justice can be attained by speaking, that contrasts in socio-economic status are not too great and that there still exists the mutual will to improve matters. Outside the Nordic Countries you will not find it to be so."

She sees the good side of Denmark especially in the planning of built-up zones. A small amount of space has had to be utilized to its maximum potential and that has been done in the best possible way. People have always had to include each other in their planning.

She speaks about her favorite topic: the symbiosis of a good environment and technology. She believes in growth but desires that the fruits of it be used to benefit family policies.

In her opinion environmental issues are even more important than the preservation of jobs.

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MOSCOW-ORIENTED CP FACTION CHAIRMAN, PAPER VIEW ISSUES

Halkola Discusses Election Results

Helsinki TIEDONANTAJA in Finnish 31 Mar 87 p 2

[Interview with Democratic Alternative Party chairperson, Kristiina Halkola by Rioto Repo]

[Text] "For the first time they are saying: 'This is not the end of it.'"

We did not get a single vote without a struggle, says the chairperson of the Democratic Alternative Party, Deva, Kristiina Halkola. She does not accept the assertion that votes for Deva were votes from the past. Halkola also comments in this interview about the aftermath of the big campaign debate on television.

Q: Was the election a victory or defeat or something in between for Deva?

A: In my opinion it was a victory. Last Friday I was upset by Erkki Metsalampi's article in the Tiedonantaja claiming that votes for Deva in, among other places, Helsinki, were "votes from the past." That is not true.

In assessing the results one cannot ignore all of the organizations that actively opposed us: the statements of the Central Federation of Finnish Trade Unions, the repetitious statements in the bourgeois press that Deva's chances were nil, that a vote for Deva was a wasted vote. It would be a mistake to underestimate our achievement in getting personnel motivated to continue their efforts in the face of what appeared to be a hopeless situation. They continued to find new people and new ways to do campaign work.

For the first time we are hearing the so called rank and file members of party workers saying: we will now keep going. Usually after elections these people take it easy. Now they are saying this is not the end of it.

For example: after the elections we held a meeting of the Women of Action, a small-Helsinki-based women's organization. More attended that than had come to any single meeting in many years.

Q: Deva was established as a so-called campaign organization. What will happen to it now, after the elections?

A: On April 12, the anniversary of Deva's founding, there will be a meeting of Deva's consultation board to assess the election results.

We should then commence working toward the objectives that we stated during the campaign for the identified problems have not disappeared. At this meeting we should ponder how to best organize our efforts to reach those objectives together with the parliamentary representatives.

When we encounter specific problems we should seek additional support from other parties on both the parliamentary and grass roots party worker levels so as to present a united front.

When we have, for example, identified Finland's worst environmental polluters. I would think we could find people from other political parties including the Greens with whom we could discuss how to actually force these polluters to toe the line.

We also have to begin formulating a budget for the future. The experience we gained in the alternative budget campaign was really valuable.

Q: What can a new member of Deva do in the future?

A: It depends a little on where they live. They might join the young in taking over the next building. They could attend a meeting giving members of parliament their instructions from constituents. At such a meeting a very careful deliberation would determine what are the most pressing issues and which of these should be dealt with in parliament and which at the grass roots level. Pretty soon now placements into day care will be granted and once we learn how many will be left without we must decide on a course of action.

Someone living in Jamsa could found an organization for conservation of the Jamsa River etc.

What one needs is a fairly high degree of personal involvement.

Q: The big campaign debate on TV turned into a controversial thing; what is your personal opinion about the controversy as well as the debate itself?

A: We have received both rosy as well as thorny feedback on what. Phone calls have come in praising it as well as others saying we should conduct ourselves in an acceptable manner when in public. And there have been calls expressing every imaginable opinion between these extremes.

That indicates how enormously broad-based our movement is. There are those who feel we should simultaneously be completely different from others, radical, say and do things utterly different from everyone else but still be completely in control of ourselves, be proper and act as much like everyone

else as possible. All of these requirements were existent prior to the debate and they continue to exist. One cannot meet all requirements at the same time.

Since politics in that kind of setting is an exercise in viewer identification with a candidate, which, in my opinion, is a bad thing, then the way to maximize that identification is for the candidate to be as neutral as possible. These men succeeded very well in that.

I do not see Deva and myself as being one and the same thing. Instead I see Deva as being all of those people who have worked on its behalf. I resent and oppose the trend that politics is increasingly conducted by individuals. I probably never will act in a way that would allow people to identify themselves in my place. This attitude, of course, demands more personal involvement from a supporter.

To sum up my opinion in one sentence: I feel that I did quite well considering the given conditions. (As a participant I can say that these "given conditions" were exceptionally poor. Halkola was left with an absolutely minimal amount of time to prepare for the task. Risto Repo.)

The positive comments have included those from especially women and youth that express a satisfaction that I showed my feelings; that excitement shows when I get excited, that I do get angry.

Q: What got you angry at that event?

A: The poker-faces of the politicians. I have never seen it so close up.

Q: How could something like that possibly be a surprise?

A: It is an indescribable feeling that overcomes you when you try to tell someone something and they do not react in any way at all.

Q: Were you able to say what you had wanted to say?

A: No, not even nearly. Simply because of the time limitations I was not able to say what I had wanted to. Perhaps I had too much to say. That was my biggest problem. I tried to say a lot of things or I kept thinking about things I felt had to be said. Perhaps I should have said only one thing.

I am not satisfied in this respect myself.

Also the pressures were great to the extent that they were possibly unreasonable. Even the Tiedonantaja created some on the very last day to top it all and that had its effect on me also.

Further, all during the last week, even on the very last day, I received millions of well-intentioned suggestions on things that I would have to be sure to say because they were so important. I agree too that there should have been a chance to speak about the retired, the very fundamental social

security, the half-million living in poverty, the guiding principles of child subsidy program instead of the markkas involved, and nobody even mentioned the small farmers.

And the reason for that is that this clever and sharp moderator, Salmen, is more interested in the fact that a Pasolini movie cannot be shown in theaters than in the life of a small farmer . . . the Helsinki-centered focus of the moderator showed through in this regard. The video issue that was discussed was a joke compared with what is going on in the country although the overall issue of videos is indeed an important one.

Q: Someone has argued that it is impossible to have sensible political debates on television.

A: They should take place monthly or yearly. Then we could, for example, review the agreed-upon issues and made promises by asking what has been done about them. But debates of this type cannot be mere contests in cleverness for then it does nothing for the typical viewer.

Then regarding the post-election analyses by the press: it goes to show the manipulative power of the press. If I had participated in the debate wearing a necktie and my hair in a bun and spoken calmly the next day's papers would have screamed: she is only reciting what she has rehearsed.

Q: You have just been through quite an election mill. In your opinion what did it reveal to be the good and bad about the communists' own teamwork? What lessons were learned?

A: In some districts the communists showed much more boldness than before in getting out among the people. Matters were not only considered at the local party level but more broadly. There were good examples of situations where the communists did not shirk from making new contacts or from going to places where they were anything but a majority. Lapland is a classic example of this and Kainuu was the same way. We have to go to the cafes because that is where the people are. Often this type of courage is lacking and that in its own way indicates a political weakness.

Q: How do you view the future relationship of the SKDL and Deva?

A: In principle, as far as their original ideology is concerned, I see them as being identical. But in practice the SKDL had become a tight organization in which an individual cannot consider what he wants but must dwell on certain topics.

Nevertheless we must seek contacts with the SKDL and its members on all real issues. Besides that, many of the SKDL organizations, departments, etc. already are in Deva.

About the communist party, I feel an enormous amount of work needs to be done to unify it. From the view of the democratic forces this is a key issue even when you consider the party's growth.

Were such a unification to take place our possibilities would be unbelievable. There simply are so many people alienated by the split.

Party Congress Assessed

Helsinki TIEDONANTAJA in Finnish 31 Mar 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Not Among the Spectators, but Among the Players"]

[Text] We are participants not spectators of perestroika. This is the way chairman Taisto Sinisalo described the role of Finnish communists in perestroika, the reform policies of the USSR, in his speech last Saturday to the central committee of the Finnish Communist Party, SKP (unity).

This characterization could be used as a motto, a good descriptive phrase, for the SKP (unity) party congress in June. For that is exactly what is at stake: the transforming of thought and action to meet the challenges of a new era. "Perestroika" is not something that can be adopted with the attitude of an outsider or bystander. You either get involved or you do not and thereby fall behind times. This is the fundamental difference between it and the self-contented "critical solidarity" position which has recently, sometimes even under the name of perestroika, been vigorously promoted as an ideology for communists but which, nevertheless, is yet a salve of the old line of thought.

True perestroika requires, above all, a critical evaluation of one's own shortcomings. Indeed a strong effort to look at things anew and the categorical examination of existing shortcomings is what characterized the meeting of the central committee. Based on this there is very good cause to believe that the June party congress will fulfill its promise.

Much is expected of it. Even though the election results do need to be analyzed critically the lessons gained in the campaign work in most areas can be used as the basis for developing teamwork for the future. In the final analysis there is a need to take into account, even while being critical, that the party working units, which had long been preoccupied almost exclusively with internal SKP disputes on extremely short notice had to turn their energies outward. This they did quite successfully. At the same time it is obvious that we are only at the very beginning.

At the congress a central role will be played by discussion about party operations and how they can be bolstered ideologically and organizationally. Success in this, in turn, depends largely on how well local party units prepare themselves for the congress. There is but little time but, on the other hand, the well done campaign work and the new post-election conditions have increased interest in the June congress.

The party congress will undoubtedly discuss the role of the communists in the development of the Democratic Alternative, Deva. The central committee already had a lot of discussion on how to prevent the bureaucratization of

Deva, to avoid the mistakes made in the building of the SKDL and, on the other hand, to preserve its very good start in operational continuity. Even though the decisions concerning the development of Deva are for Deva itself to make, the communists must make clear their own stand on these issues.

All SKP organizations are invited to participate in preparation for the congress. Invitations have been extended to all districts. The central committee determined that to accomplish an upward change in communist party fortunes much discussion and cooperation is needed. For that to take place the door must be open to everyone.

Warning Against EC Ties

Helsinki TIEDONANTAJA in Finnish 31 Mar 87 p 2

[Text] The firming of the relationship between Finland and the EC continuously takes new forms. This is happening fast and it is being done purposefully.

Last week the government established a special committee to study the collaboration between EFTA and EC and to prepare Finnish statements on this collaboration. This, too, confirms that the joint proclamation of cooperation between EFTA and EC given at their first joint ministers' meeting in Luxemburg in 1984 was not mere phraseology but does also affect Finland's position and that the government of Finland is actively supporting the cooperation.

Already last year the government established a committee to study and prepare Finland's piloting a program of collaboration with Western Europe. When one also takes into account the joint commission and joint research committees as well as other joint organs that Finland participates in with the EC it can be seen that a considerable amount of organization has already been devoted to this collaboration.

Now the Central Association of Industry has also formed a committee for the purpose of studying and preparing collaboration with EC as the integration of Western Europe reaches a new phase.

Last weekend's meeting of the SKP central committee gave these developments a lot of attention. What is the proportional relationship of overall foreign policy to foreign trade policy in these decisions? How can we be sure that integration decisions will not conflict with our pacifist foreign policy? Who is making these decisions? How will cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries develop under these conditions?

These questions need answering and broad-based discussions need to take place about them. Now, however, those with capital and the government are sailing Finland's ship of state into the EC's wake with extinguished lamps and without openly talking about the consequences or alternatives.

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DEVA APPALLED AT PROSPECT OF CONSERVATIVES IN GOVERNMENT

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 13 Apr 87 p 11

[Text] The Democratic Alternative, Deva, formed by hard-line communists expressed horror Sunday about plans to include the Conservative Party in government. Deva's consultation committee appealed to "all progressive groups" to join efforts to block the Conservatives' ascendancy into government.

Deva's leaders included president Mauno Koivisto, who Friday assigned the task of forming a government to Conservative Harri Holkeri, among the progressives to whom their appeal was addressed.

Deva considers it particularly alarming that Social Democratic Party leaders have taken a positive stance on collaboration with the Conservatives. Ensio Laine, chairman of the Deva parliamentary delegation, feels that the Social Democratic leadership has begun preparing to sell the conservative alternative to party members and supporters.

The consultation committee said in its published statement that the Conservative Party continues to be and is even more strongly than before "the most important bastion of big capital and reactionary thought" in Finland.

As an alternative to conservatives in government, Deva proposes "the collaboration of the entire political left and all progressive forces." Among progressives Deva includes the Center Party, Country Party, and the Greens. The Swedish Party and the Christian Party were dumped into the same heap as the conservatives.

In its own proposals for government policy, Deva emphasizes job security, the raising of child subsidies, the lowering of housing costs, the shortening of time spent at work, a ban on firing employees, more efficient environmental protection measures and the development of the rural areas.

The consultation committee proposed the presenting of an additional employment budget to parliament to combat the worsening employment situation.

The Deva meeting was held on Sunday, the first anniversary of the party's founding. The meeting expressed unanimity in that Deva should not be organized as a conventional political party with departments and membership cards.

Deva will, however, continue to contest elections in the future. The consultation committee will decide on preparations for next year's presidential elections when it next meets in June.

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COMMUNIST PRESS ON FORMATION OF NEW GOVERNMENT COALITION

Stalinist Faction Attacks SDP

Helsinki TIEDONANTAJA in Finnish 22 Apr 87 p 2

[Editorial: An Increasingly Right-Wing Finland]

[Text] A Social Democratic and Conservative coalition government, called a Red-Black government in the Finnish press, would lead Finland further to the right in many different ways. First of all, for the SDP it would be a clear step to the right for, despite all of its flirtations with the idea, the leadership of the SDP used to reject coalitions including the primary right-wing party. Now it has become apparent that party leadership right down to the party congress delegate levels have decided to accept partnership with the Conservative Party.

Let it be frankly stated that SDP moves toward the formation of a Red-Black coalition would have been much more difficult, if not impossible, had not the people's democratic movement split in two. The present position of the SDP leadership is also made easier by the fact that there are some members of even the SKDL leadership who go along with the SDP shift at least to the extent of withholding criticism. They are the very same people who have suggested that the SKDL open lines of communication with the Conservatives.

A Red-Black coalition government would also silence, at least temporarily, those in the SDP who, after the election defeat, immediately demanded that the party become part of the opposition and adopt more strongly leftist policies.

If the Red-Black government becomes a reality the Conservative Party will enter government as the right-wing prop of the consensus, as the very agent that has over the years been demanding even greater privileges for, to use an example, privately owned corporation and big capital interests than the SDP led Red Earth coalition government has been willing to give. The entry of the Conservative Party into government will also strengthen the bastion of the political right in the bureaucracy and in government officialdom in general. Cooperation between the SDP and Conservative Party will, of course, cause the SDP itself to shift farther to the right.

What effect will getting into government have on the Conservative Party? After many years in opposition this step will apparently at least silence those members who for years have been demanding the "moderation" of party policies along with a shift by the party toward the Center Party stance. If the objective, that is: entry into government, is now reached then such changes would not be needed. It is appropriate to point out, at least as a progressive alternative to the policies of Conservative leadership, the Kanerva faction has ceased to exist.

And what about the Center Party? What direction will it take as an opposition party? At present Vayrynen's commentary on a Red-Black coalition seems to be coming from even farther to the right. The Center Party is preparing to demand policies from the Red-Black government that bear an even more extreme right-wing stamp. These conclusions can be drawn from Vayrynen's recent statements wherein he warns the Conservatives against yielding to become a hostage of the "socialists" and demands that the Conservatives stick to "non-socialist" policies.

CP Chairman Views Election

Helsinki KANSAN UUTiset in Finnish 24 Apr 87 p 6

[Text] The Finnish Communist Party, SKP, chairman, Arvo Aalto, is urging his party's workers to a home stretch effort even though they have just come through a rugged and exhausting campaign.

"We have ahead of us one of the most significant party congresses in SKP history. That is why there just is no time to take a break. Instead we now need to work together and with a purpose in this home-stretch before the party congress."

"The SKP is a political party and for that reason how we reply politically to the election results is of primary importance."

At the same time Aalto is amazed by developments in the SDP.

"At the Finnish Federation of Trade Unions, SAK, Sorsa spoke as though the SDP was the tempo setter at the coalition negotiations. He gave the impression that his party would dictate what the government will do. That is not consistent with the political situation that I felt was mandated by the election."

Aalto feels that, with presidential influence, the SDP may well get into the government. But the policies of the government will be what can be expected after this election: bourgeois, regardless if the new government ends up being Red-Black or bourgeois. "If there is to be any change in political direction it will be towards the right."

"The social democrats now seem to be telling us that since the working peoples' movement now lacks strength we need to adapt. In my opinion that is exactly the reason the working peoples' movement has lost strength: the SDP

has adapted to the bourgeois trend and neither the SKDL nor the SKP has been able to offer a sufficient effective alternative as the prevailing left-wing policy."

Alternative Politics

Due to the current political situation, Arvo Aalto stresses, the search for a political alternative must place its emphasis on the stopping of the growth of the right-wing.

In our party policy formulations we need to put substance into what we are offering the people. We need to seek a vision whereby we can establish a new moral framework, a new sense of justice and new income division relationships. With these as our general goals we can attack all of the specific problems that exist today: unemployment, lack of housing, poverty, environmental issues as well as issues related to democracy itself: an individual's sense of being able to participate, to have an effect on what is going on."

Aalto puts it this way: the party congress will not fulfill its historic task if it cannot concentrate on these political foundations.

The Party Platform Will Need to Continuously be Revised

One of the agenda items for the party congress is the reframing of the party platform. Aalto sees the new platform extending beyond the limits of this time and age.

"It extends to include the future of mankind, the preservation of peace, the prevention of an ecological catastrophe, the elimination of hunger and misery in the world." Under consideration will be a second draft of the platform. Compared with the first Aalto considers this one to be more political and contemporary issue centered.

"This draft of the platform seems to have received a lot of support but also well founded criticism. It is absolutely mandatory that the final draft of the platform takes this criticism into account."

One of the guiding principles in writing the platform has been that it is not to be an unchangeable thing for decades. Instead a means to continue discussions and scrutinize the platform issues is being sought. According to Aalto the intention is to continuously keep revising the platform.

"We do not need a platform that will be shelved as soon as it is written. In fact, the SKP should make a point of scrutinizing the platform objectives at each party congress. This would be something new for us but not for our sister parties," says Aalto. He uses the practice of the Italian Communist Party as an example. Since World War II it has reversed its philosophy at every party congress.

"The strong position of the Italian Communist Party proves that such a practice provides vitality."

Aalto sums it up by observing that the currently developing platform has the perspective needed to create a home-spun socialism. It is a challenge that the current conditions have hurled at the party and the platform writers are doing their work on the basis of that recognition.

Organizational Revision

"We are unavoidably faced with organizational revision at the coming congress. We are now free of a disease that plagued us for a long time together with its result: the Stalinist opposition. But the freedom came at a tremendous cost--more than 10,000 members left the party."

"For us to be a big, united party we have to be able to attract new members. Unless we can do that all the talk about organizational revision is baloney. I have the impression that those who are aware of that have yet to begin informing folk about the necessity of harnessing new people and have not set themselves to the task with full determination."

"In every instance where folk have taken the matter into their own hands there have been results."

As an example he cites the Turku branch's construction department's activeness. After the elections the Turku people were able to sign up as many as 27 new members in a single week.

"This is proof that the groundwork for new activity is already there if people but take advantage of the situation."

Imagination Needed in the Activity

The revision of the organization's activity has to take other forms besides new members, thinks Aalto.

"We have to find ways to make our organization vigorous and active. Our locals need to use forms of activity that reach people. We have no restrictions on the types of activity that can be used. The more imagination that is used the better."

After this Aalto reflects on what kind of revision he, himself, would like to see. In his opinion what is needed is a new mode of thought in the organization; one that would be up to date, would take diversity into consideration, would base sensible discussion and debate on that diversity and conclude by building unity from that diversity.

"If this party is not capable of that then it can never be a broad-based movement. We are faced with two different tasks. On the one hand the SKP is clearly a revolutionary party which is trying to change the very foundations of society in the struggle to establish socialism."

"At the same time we have a cultural task. We have to inform the public. We have to generate an alternative culture to replace the accepted one."

Leadership Will not be Determined by Whispers in the Corners

This party congress will also select the future leadership of the party. In this respect also the party has come of age.

"One of the characteristics of the new mode of thought is that discussions about the selection of leaders must be open and fair. Gone are the days when it was thought appropriate to select leaders by whisperings in corners or meeting behind closed doors."

Aalto wants to emphasize that even after the congress the party is faced with exceptionally tough and challenging tasks. "Our mutual responsibility is to find for the SKP the best possible leadership to deal with those tasks."

Eurocommunist Paper Views Prospects

[Helsinki KANSAN UUTiset in Finnish 24 Apr 87 p 2]

[Editorial: "The Prospects of the Leftist Opposition"]

[Text] The probability that a Red-Black coalition government will become a reality has caused every political force to examine its own limits and prospects under those conditions. Naturally all of the leftist groupings are presently undergoing such examinations.

The current swing to the right in Finnish politics has the party of the working people expecting even less government action on behalf of the people of little means. Nevertheless, since it is difficult to predict what course Finnish domestic policies will take, the reverse is also true. It could well happen that the real results of government policies will be completely different from what the right-wingers, who are now flush with victory, imagine.

Today there are many in the working people's party who feel that left-wing activity and the societal struggle should increasingly take place on a front that includes working places, citizens' organizations and local level politics. Naturally tradition dictates that parliament remains an important battleground to determine what course national policies will take.

The alliance of the SDP with the Conservatives has shocked many. Past experience indicates that even such a government does not unavoidably lead to growing strife within trade unions. Hopefully the defeat of the left in the elections and the simultaneous swing to the right in national politics will cause the social democratic members of the Finnish Federation of Trade Unions to place a higher priority on the preservation of the trade union's independence and thus avoid a linking of union policies with the policies of

the rightist-led government. Under the new conditions the interests of wage earners and employees movements can only be preserved by the use of a clearly defined policy and a united struggle.

Within the leftist opposition the central and unifying role can only be filled by the people's democratic party, the SKDL. The only way it can fulfill this role is by strengthening its own activity in all aspects and by vigorously promoting a policy based on the interests of the working people as an alternative to ever increasing bourgeois and right-wing interest based on policies.

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POLL ON PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES: YOUTH REJECT VAYRYNEN

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 10 May 87 p 8

[Article by Jyrki Vesikansa: "UUSI SUOMI Poll Disclosed Differences of Opinion Between Age Groups, Youth Rejected Vayrynen"]

[Text] There is a definite geographical gap in support for presidential candidates since the government solution. Paavo Vayrynen continues to be shunned in the south while, on the other hand, his popularity has not decreased very much in the north. However, Kalevi Kivisto of the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] is doing exceptionally well in Northern Finland: he has a 30-percent support rating there, which clearly exceeds Vayrynen's 11 percent.

Even in Northern Finland, Mauno Koivisto leads with 38 percent, but the difference is not overwhelming. Harri Holkeri's support in the north is on the average the same as elsewhere in the nation. His position is the weakest (12 percent) in Central Finland.

With 2- and 4-percent support figures, on the other hand, Kivisto and Vayrynen do not have a chance in Southern Finland. Vayrynen does not appeal to youth either or to those between the ages of 18 and 34: his popularity rating is only 2 percent. This is especially surprising since Vayrynen, 40, is the youngest of the candidates.

Koivisto's and Holkeri's support is even in the various age groups. Geographically, Koivisto's support is the strongest in the south (61 percent) -- but he is number one everywhere.

Reinforcement for Distribution Theory

Even though no excessively direct conclusions should be drawn from the figures of this instant poll, it appears that the figures in the tables below reinforce the concept that the government solution divided the people to some degree. Youth in the south continue to be behind the blue-red government while the older age groups in developing areas tend to be alienated from it.

However, the differences should not be exaggerated: Vayrynen's support does not even begin to approach the national average level of the Center Party,

Koivisto is number one everywhere and Holkeri's showing is not very weak in any geographical or age group.

<u>"If the presidential elections were held now and a presidential candidate were elected directly, for whom would you vote?"</u>		
	Economic Research Poll November -86 %	Economic Research Poll May - 87 %
Mauno Koivisto	57	55
Harri Holkeri	14	18
Kalevi Kivisto	5	9
Paavo Vayrynen	11	6
Do not know	13	11

<u>"Whose popularity increased in connection with the government solution? Whose popularity decreased?"</u>			
	Increased %	Decreased %	"Difference"
Harri Holkeri	70	1	+69
Mauno Koivisto	30	6	+24
Ilkka Suominen	22	8	+14
Kalevi Sorsa	16	21	- 5
Pekka Vennamo	5	22	-17
Paavo Vayrynen	1	68	-67

<u>"Is there anyone among the presidential candidates whom you would not want to be president?"</u>		
	Economic Research Poll November -86 %	Economic Research Poll March -87 %
Paavo Vayrynen	29	40
Kalevi Kivisto	19	17
Harri Holkeri	15	7
Mauno Koivisto	3	4
Do not know	34	39

The government's popularity will be presented in greater detail in the second section of the report, which will be published in UUSI SUOMI on Tuesday.

Koivisto Overwhelming

The chief message of the study clarifying the support of all the presidential candidates is Koivisto's overwhelming support. It does not appear that the government solution has diminished it even though the performance of a president who has given up a low profile has been forcefully criticized.

Holkeri, however, has reaped the primary benefit. His popularity is approaching the Conservative Party's support figures while it was less than half of that only a year ago.

Perhaps it is just as important that labelling Holkeri as a non-desirable has fallen to less than half since last fall. The government negotiations have apparently given members of the left wing a new picture of him.

SDP Chairman Kalevi Sorsa's performance in the government negotiations has been found to be slightly contradictory since somehow just as many who consider that he has increased his popularity also consider he has lost popularity. Ilkka Suominen, the leader of the Conservative Party, clearly accumulated more plus points even though minuses were also given.

Center Party's Hopes Not Fulfilled

On the other hand, the Center Party did not fulfill the hope that its abrupt dismissal would increase its popularity and raise Vayrynen to the position of being the "real" challenger to Koivisto.

On the contrary, the alienation of Vayrynen has even clearly increased since last fall.

SUOMEN KUVALEHTI published comparative figures in the fall.

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POLL FINDS 64 PERCENT SUPPORT HOLKERI GOVERNMENT

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 10 May 87 p 9

[Article: "Holkeri Government Receives 64-Percent Support"]

[Text] The blue-red government of Prime Minister Harri Holkeri (Conservative) enjoys 71-percent support in Southern Finland, but in Northern Finland support remains at 47 percent.

Among those dissatisfied with the government, 17 percent of those responding to an opinion poll requested by ILTALEHTI wanted a government in which the Center Party would also have been included. Among them, 16 percent supported a pure bourgeois government and 14 percent a red earth government.

The opinion poll was conducted by Taloustutkimus Oy [Economic Research Company] last Wednesday by means of a telephone interview. The poll encompassed 303 Finns over the age of 18 from various parts of the country. It is considered that the distribution corresponds with the geographical distribution of the population.

A Government of the South?

The poll shows that Southern Finnish males between the ages of 18 and 34 are the most satisfied with the government base. The strongest opposition comes from Northern middle aged Finns.

Among youth dissatisfied with the government, hardly anyone would have wanted to replace it with a red earth government (0 percent). The same youth also did not want the Center Party in the government (4 percent) even though, on the one hand, they consider a pure bourgeois government to be the best (22 percent).

Among Northern Finns dissatisfied with the government, 33 percent would have wanted the Center Party in the government also. Among them, 19 percent supported a socialist government.

Government Support				
	Southern Finland	Central Finland	Northern Finland	ALL
Yes	71	57	47	64 %
No	26	31	51	31 %
Do not know	3	12	2	5 %
"Does government solution correspond with your wishes?"				

Other Alternatives				
	Southern Finland	Central Finland	Northern Finland	ALL
Three major or Center Party included	20	24	42	25 %
Bourgeois government	21	10	11	16 %
Socialist government	13	14	19	15 %
Red earth	13	14	11	14 %
Some other alternative	23	14	7	17 %
"If red earth did not correspond with wishes, what kind of gov- ernment would you have wanted?"				

Twin Alternative Not Clearly Evident

The positions of Prime Minister Holkeri's government are reinforced by the fact that no particular alternative to the current government rises much higher than any other.

In any case, the supporters of a government of the three major parties make up the smallest group among those dissatisfied with the present government, only 8 percent.

The distribution shows that there are more supporters of Holkeri's government among women than among men. Likewise, more women (25 percent) than men (7 percent) would have wanted the Center Party in the government. Correspondingly, red earth was more popular among men than among the women.

Comments Cautious

Even though the opinion poll shows that the exclusion of the Center Party does not receive broad public condemnation, the Center Party is not apparently changing its protests against the solution.

Neither does the party draw any strict conclusions about the weak popularity of Chairman Paavo Vayrynen. The portion of the poll made public on Sunday showed that in the presidential game Koivisto's support is 55 percent, Holkeri's is 18 while Kalevi Kivisto of the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] receives 9 and Vayrynen receives 8 percent.

It is considered that the government solution has increased Holkeri's popularity in the eyes of the people.

Meeting in Lapland

Center Party Secretary Seppo Kaariainen and the executive directors of the party districts are currently meeting in Lapland. Today's situation as well as prospects for the future are being discussed according to party sources.

As far as is known, there is no intent in the Center Party to retreat to strong support areas and be only a voice on behalf of agriculture. The party will attempt to improve its image and also promote the causes of Southern Finland and blue-collar as well as white-collar workers.

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RED-BLUE COALITION FORCING CHANGES ON CENTER PARTY, VAYRYNEN

Party's 'Deep Identity Crisis'

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 16 May 87 p 2

[Editorial: "The Center Party's Deep Identity Crisis"]

[Text] The Center Party, accustomed as it is to being in government, is now experiencing an identity crisis as a member of the opposition. It is groping right and left in a search for allies and an opposition policy. The frustration of the rank and file is finding release in the form of sharp criticism toward party chairman Paavo Vayrynen, who, at least for the present, has adopted an invisible role.

A question that has been a topic of a lot of speculation is: What kind of an opposition policy will the Center Party follow? No one knows the answer to that question yet. Sometimes there is heard talk about a moderate tone in opposition but, then again, party newspapers as well as newspapers close to the party express a fairly hard line.

One reason it has been especially difficult to envision the Center Party's role in opposition is that chairman Paavo Vayrynen has been silent these last weeks.

The party has had to seek new partnerships after the Swedish Party played taps for the Center Party's delegation by joining the government coalition. There has been discussion about joining forces with the communists as well as the Greens.

The Communist and Center parties have had good, social democrat leapfrogging, mutual understanding between them ever since they joined forces to argue the case of small farmers. Time has, however, passed by this alliance.

It is difficult also to find precedents for collaboration with the Greens even though the parties share the same identifying color. The primarily urban Greens view the Center Party as a major cause of environmental pollution since its supporters defile the already overproducing fields by using chemical fertilizers. In issues like gravel mining or seashore conservation the Greens and the Center Party easily find themselves on the opposite ends of the opinion spectrum.

The shores of Koijarvi, among others, proved how difficult it is to even establish speaking terms between the farmers' association and Center Party member and the corduroy jacket and brushy beard cultured Green. Besides that, not much can be gained by an alliance with a group as small as the Greens.

The Center Party has also shown flashes of an interest in gaining supporters among low income city-dwellers, which would place it in competition mainly with the political left. Sociological reasons might make this a sound strategy.

The typical Social Democrat is getting to be a comfortably living functionary or tradesman and the extreme left is encumbered with its ideology.

It is, however, hard to imagine the Center Party attracting these people since it has no toehold in the southern cities, in other words, no significant party organization nor the kind of support given by either a farmer's organization or trade union.

The alternative at the other extreme is to become a right-wing watchdog and make sure that the Conservatives maintain a nonsocialist stance. This has already been attempted. It could be a way to attract entrepreneurs who may become disappointed with the Red-Blue government. But to take a stance to the right of the Conservatives is hardly a way to establish partnerships with the left--nor do such tactics show much promise anyway.

Since the party leadership has yet to define a policy, it is bearing the brunt of the rank and file's dissatisfaction. With his "willful politics" Paavo Vayrynen has been a special target. It would be difficult, however, to depose the party's presidential candidate and, besides, that would only be the seeking of a scapegoat.

Yesterday's news from parliament told of the first attacks by the current opposition. The pension policy is a ready-made issue for launching an attack. Another natural issue over which the opposition can bare its fangs is that of state rules even if it is one which was tabled and not vigorously opposed by the Center Party while still in government.

Such disconnected actions, however, give no indication of the manner of policy to be pursued by the Center Party. The party leaders need to define a policy to the rank and file or the issues will take control of the leaders instead of the reverse.

Vayrynen Precluded Cabinet Post

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 21 May 87 p 9

[Text] The Center Party's chairman and presidential candidate, Paavo Vayrynen, would not have joined a nonsocialist government headed by Harri Holkeri (Conservative) had such a government become a reality. Vayrynen would have inherited Conservative Ilkka Suominen's post as speaker of parliament.

Vayrynen's decision was revealed in an agreement signed by the centrist parties and the Conservative Party. The agreement was used to try to influence Holkeri, the man designated by president Mauno Koivisto to attempt forming a government.

According to Koivisto's directives Holkeri was to first try to form a Social Democratic-Conservative coalition and, if that failed, a nonsocialist coalition. The agreement of the centrist parties and the Conservatives was signed after Holkeri was given the job of forming a government but before Conservative and Social Democratic groups had given replies to Holkeri's queries about their preparedness in principle to their coalition.

The leaders of the centrist parties and the Conservative Party tried until the very end to get a nonsocialist government. The agreement by the Conservatives and the centrist parties dated Monday April 13 reads:

"The undersigned chairmen and secretaries of said parties jointly express a readiness in principle to negotiate for the formation of a majority government composed of the Conservative Party together with the centrist parties. This grouping for a government is consistent with the outcome of the elections and it is a logical solution in the event that the Social Democratic Party rejects a partnership with the victors of the election.

"The Center and Conservative Parties have nominated bank director Harri Holkeri and foreign minister Paavo Vayrynen to form the government. Either one of these is a suitable prime minister in our opinion. The president of the republic will designate a person to form the government.

"In the event that a government of the centrist parties and the Conservative Party cannot be formed, the undersigned, as representatives of their parties, are prepared to consider other government alternatives.

"In Helsinki April 13, 1987.

"Ilkka Suominen, Jussi Isotalo, Paavo Vayrynen, Seppo Kaariainen, Christoffer Taxell, Peter Stenlund, Esko Almgren, Jouko Jaaskelainen."

The Conservative and Swedish Parties Sidestepped the Agreement

One day later the Conservative parliamentary caucus unanimously expressed support for the president's prioritization. Only chairman Ilkka Suominen expressed a preference for the forming of an all nonsocialist government.

The Swedish Party later also joined in the government-forming negotiations. After negotiations lasting a couple of weeks, a government was formed including the Social Democratic Party, Conservative Party, Finland's Rural Party and Swedish People's Party. The Center Party and the Christian League were left in opposition.

Knowledge about the agreement began seeping into the media via Center Party newspapers Wednesday. The Center Party news bureau wrote the article for

publication in its party newspapers. That first article did not contain the agreements themselves but did state that already before the elections there was an agreement in principle between Paavo Vayrynen (Center), Ilkka Suominen (Conservative), and Christoffer Taxell (Swedish) to form a coalition government if the Social Democratic Party rejects a coalition of the big three. It was also agreed that Paavo Vayrynen would become speaker of the parliament if the current speaker, Ilkka Suominen, were to become a cabinet minister under Holkeri.

During the subsequent government negotiations, Suominen continued to insist on Vayrynen for speaker of parliament but the Conservative Party bowed and joined in supporting Matti Ahde (Social Democrat) for that post. When the matter came up for a vote, the Center Party nominee was Mikko Perala (Center).

Kaariainen Will Not Take the Matter to Court

The chief architect of the agreement for a nonsocialist government, Center Party chairman Paavo Vayrynen, did not want to comment Wednesday on any agreements or breakings of such.

Center Party secretary Seppo Kaariainen, whose name appeared on two agreements, did affirm that the agreements had indeed been made. Kaariainen also feels that it was fitting that the matter was brought out into the open.

According to Kaariainen the Center Party does not want to pass judgment on anyone for breaking the agreements.

"What would be the point of it? We will just accept it as fact. This is not a matter to go to court over. It would serve no purpose to try to affix blame for politics is not a courtroom process," said Kaariainen.

Taxell: "I Have Broken No Agreements"

The Swedish People's Party chairman Christoffer Taxell stated that, as a party, the Swedish Party had not made any agreements with other parties, "nor have I broken any agreements that I have participated in making. And I want to point out that I am a lawyer."

Taxell said that he had discussed the new government with various and numerous parties both before and after the elections. "That is my job, even my duty, as party chairman."

"From the Swedish Party standpoint it was especially important that we assure our participation in government, even a broad-based one."

The board of directors of the Center Party will discuss the present government on Thursday. At this meeting Paavo Vayrynen will break his long silence on the matter and express his own opinions and views about transpired events and future policies of the Center Party.

Within the Center Party Vayrynen has been criticized some for staking too much on one card in the negotiations for a nonsocialist government.

Presidential Campaign's New Theme

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 22 May 87 p 9

[Text] The Center Party will not hold a special convention in the fall to extravagantly launch the presidential campaign of their candidate, Paavo Vayrynen. Instead there will be an extra board of delegates meeting in Oulu at the end of August which will end with "the gala event of the folk in the Center Party," the commencement exercises of the presidential campaign.

The governing board of the Center Party decided on the matter Thursday. Several thousand people are expected to attend the kick-off festivities of Vayrynen's campaign.

Vayrynen liked the idea of a special convention but no one on the board of directors supported it except the chairman of the North Pohjanmaa region who had officially moved that a special convention be held.

The Center Party's opposition policy was to be unveiled at the special party convention. Party directors felt a board of delegates meeting would be an easier and less cumbersome way to achieve the same end and did not deem it necessary to hold a party convention for the sole purpose of glorifying Vayrynen.

There was a geographic tug-of-war over the location of Vayrynen's campaign festivities. Southern members wanted the meeting in Tampere, Lahti, or Helsinki so that the party could not be branded as an advocate of northern interests only. The party leadership thought that the turnout would be too light in the southern cities. Oulu was granted the hosting of the meeting and thus the region that initiated the motion for a special party convention ends up with the board of delegates meeting.

Vayrynen gave his first public speech as leader of the opposition at the board of directors meeting but he did not outline any clear or final policy.

Vayrynen openly expressed doubt that the Conservative Party could, as a member of government, put into practice the will of the country's nonsocialist majority "as well as the Center Party had." On the other hand, Vayrynen did feel that, even though the position of the Social Democratic Party is even stronger than before, the government will follow right-wing policies.

Reform in Work Conditions Must Be Abandoned

In his speech Vayrynen adopted an attitude of understanding the problems of industry and enterprise. According to him, enterprises are terrified of the "ever increasing government interference and bureaucracy" for which the Social Democrats are responsible.

Vayrynen predicted that the policy of the present government will be "to keep the value of the markka high, a harsh right-wing policy that will cause sharp structural changes and increased unemployment."

"To counter the effects of a high-valued markka, the government offers no improvements in the conditions under which enterprise is conducted. In taxation policy we may even experience a rollback to the earlier poor conditions as the government may negate certain reforms instituted by the Center Party which improved conditions for enterprise."

Vayrynen felt that the government should abandon its plans for work condition reform. "Workers as well as management would have higher employment and better actual job security if the government would abandon its planned reforms, which would only make matters more difficult for small enterprise. Instead, there should be work on improving operating conditions for enterprise."

Vayrynen Barely Touched the Subject of Koivisto

Vayrynen did not continue his verbal scourging of the government nor did he fulfill his promise to criticize Koivisto's actions in detail. Vayrynen barely mentioned Koivisto's actions.

The Center Party chairman observed that the government solution that was found greatly increased the power of the Social Democrats and called it "irrefutable proof that the coalition that was formed negates the outcome of the elections." The Social Democrats lost a lot of their support while the winners were the Conservative and Center parties. Despite this, the influence of the Social Democratic Party increased.

"To what extent this is to be credited to Koivisto and to what extent to the Conservatives and their presidential candidate is left to the estimation of anyone."

Vayrynen called the Holkeri government an "alliance of the right-wing of the Social Democratic Party and the right-wing period."

According to Vayrynen the goal of the Center Party in opposition will be to change the make-up of the government.

"In my opinion we should not adopt an opposition policy based on manipulations to force the dissolving of government but instead we need to seek a vigorous policy that will last for 4 years."

The Center Party is Acting Like a Wild West Hero

Vayrynen noted that 1 year ago when it was discussing possible future governments, the Center Party expressed a preference for a partnership with the Conservatives of the Red-Earth government and the inclusion of the Conservatives in government was made an objective.

That statement led to questions by Eeva Kuuskoski-Vikatmaa and Kauko Juhantalo as to where it had been decided that a nonsocialist government was preferable to the Red-Earth coalition. Vayrynen explained that such was the logical conclusion to be drawn from the policy outline of 1 year ago.

Juhantalo urged the Center Party to improve relations with the president and the Social Democrats. Juhantalo said it is as if the Center Party suddenly found itself backed into a corner and came out shooting. "That only works for a Wild West hero."

Others also expressed wanting to see better relations with the Social Democrats and felt it was the Conservatives and not Koivisto who should be criticized. The Conservative Party was not considered a trustworthy partner.

The leadership of the Center Party was criticized for following a policy dictated by the will which was followed at the expense of losing partners. Neither was it thought wise to have insisted on only one nonsocialist government alternative during government negotiations.

The written agreements for nonsocialist governments that have become public knowledge were called amateurish.

The members of the board of directors supported Vayrynen's decision to leave the practical matters of leading the opposition to party secretary Seppo Kaariainen, vice-chairmen and the parliamentary caucus. They felt that Vayrynen would be wise to distance himself from the continuing arguments as long as he is a presidential candidate.

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YOUTH POLITICAL APATHY REFLECTED IN WEAKER PARTY AUXILIARIES

Less Interest in Ideology

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 24 Jun 87 p 11

[Article by Paavo Rautio: "Political Youth Organizations Troubled; Ideologists Protected from Rain by Events of General Human Interest"]

[Text] The political youth organizations are in a deplorable state of affairs. Young people are voting without enthusiasm, shun party politics and give all organizations that show even slight signs of engaging in political activities a wide berth. The party youth organizations are afraid of remaining in the ivory towers created by their own structures. They have responded to the challenges of the past few years by concentrating on organizing "green" events and events expressing general solidarity, the association of which with party politics and organization hierarchies not even the sharpest eye can discern.

The Conservative Party has about 500 members in Helsinki under the age of 29, the Centre Party less than 200 and the Social Democrats about 1,000. The three biggest party youth organizations have a total number of members in Helsinki that is considerably lower than, for example, that of the Ursa Astronomical Association. They get twice as much money per member from the city as special interest organizations do.

Significance of Activities Atrophied into Side Issues

Long gone are the torrid years of the youth politics of the early 1970's, when the youth organizations were at the throats of other--sometimes their own--organizations. In those golden years the Young Conservatives were real nonsocialists and the Young Social Democrats knew their marching song by heart. The political organizations attracted people to join them, memberships grew and the youth organizations turned into active, lively social forces that were distinct from one another. There were more than enough heralds of worldwide revolution and builders of a Brave New Society.

The 1970's overtook the party youth organizations. Finland went its various ways and the realm of liberty did not materialize. People tired of it and abandoned the stagnant youth organizations as schools for professional politicians and ladders to success. The imposing wings, however, remained standing and membership figures were high--thanks to overlapping and interlocking memberships. Active participation in affairs was at rock bottom

and party activists held their educational symposiums for one another. Activities were turned inward.

The party youth organizations were marking time. Participation began to be channeled in other directions or died out entirely. Following developments in Central Europe, an exacting movement that had a more spontaneous, more immediate effect came into being in Finland.

Ideas for Activists and Music for Outsiders

After the crest of the wave in the 1950's and 10 years too late, the party youth organizations are trying to imbue their activities with new life. New doors are being opened and the stale air is being let out. For example, during the past 10 years the Social Democratic SNK [Social Democratic Youth Federation] has dropped or purged a third of its members.

Young people's mistrust and failure to participate keep the political youth organizations constantly on their toes: Overt politicking and the most conspicuous of ideological foundations have been purged from "events" or lost under a general humanism.

A new kind of youth politics "characterized by single issue movements" is laying open to question the whole political organizational basis of the youth organizations: Why an SNK, an SDNL [Finnish Democratic Youth League], an NKL [Young Centrist League] or Young Conservatives when they have a broad sector of genuine single issue groups. How, for example, can the NKL any longer fit into its swaddling clothes? Or how does the basis for its activities--Charlie Marx --still cut up the SNK pie?

Channeling of Forces Produces Difficulties

Young Conservatives Helsinki District chairwoman Ann-Sofie Hogstrom admitted that we may also look inward for the reason for the stagnation of the political youth organizations. "It is certainly in part true that the youth organizations have turned inward and that it is a bit difficult for them to join us. There are active youths, but we have not been fully capable of channeling this force."

Hogstrom reminded us that, in speaking of numbers of members, we must also take into consideration the fact that joining in political activities and choosing an ideological course require a considerable degree of maturity. "You have to live with the decision you make too."

NKL information secretary Raisa Kettunen felt that young people ought to be approached in ways peculiar to them and that there is good reason to bypass meeting techniques and party hierarchies. "We should always live at young people's level, but just a bit ahead of them."

SNK first secretary Auli Kivenmaa shoved the responsibility onto the news media and the SDP [Social Democratic Party]. "We give them a picture of us on the basis of what the SDP represents. We by no means always follow the same courses of action as they do." Especially the parent party's lack of image

causes branches to break off the SNK. "We now serve as the educators of a small group and as the SDP's conscience," Kivenmaa outlined the SNK's role.

Representatives of all three organizations dispute the general impression that young people are passive. Their passiveness is only their avoidance of the established structures and not very great desire to influence affairs by voting. Channeling this new kind of active participation--the desire to take a hand in matters directly and through extraparliamentary channels--through the structures of their own organizations is creating sizable difficulties for the political youth organizations.

Organization Hierarchies Lag Behind

An expert on youth culture, researcher Ritva Mitchell of the Central Committee for Art regards the claim that young people are politically passive as being problematic. "If active participation means belonging to organizations and working through them, the claim is valid. The political youth organizations are no longer capable of mobilizing as effectively as they were in the early 1970's." Mitchell stressed the fact that we should not jump to conclusions on the number of young people interested in national affairs on the basis of voting percentages alone.

According to Mitchell, the whole concept of politics has acquired slightly new overtones. "Emphasis is being laid on the desire to exert influence quickly and on clearcut issues. The whole domain of the organizations is now going along with this change. This development has not yet made the party youth organizations superfluous, but their structure and modes of operation certainly deserve discussion. Today people are so well-educated that such hierarchies no longer attract people, nor are they valid."

Activity Outside Political Parties

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 24 Jun 87 p 11

[Article: "Solidarity Above Ideological Lines"]

[Text] Solidarity events, youth fairs, cooperation festivals, occupations of buildings and day labor contribution exercises present a recurrent picture of the political youth organizations: The defects of the society and attitudes are in themselves political and the division into Left and Right nonessential. Out with the hierarchies, activation to the fore. Stick to the problems of the moment, down with the participation level.

On the other hand, this development has made the organizations schizophrenic. There are the events and those young people outside the organizations who randomly participate in the events, on the one hand, and the ideological foundation and the active cadres, on the other. The same regular crowds participate in educational conferences, seminars and educational evenings--new forces for continuously influencing the parties from the inside are growing sparingly.

All Together to Bring Down the Boers

Parliament concluded its spring session by unanimously passing a bill to break off trade relations with South Africa. On the evening of the same day all of the Helsinki district political youth organizations convened in University House for a celebration in memory of the Soweto bloodbath. The rally was also a protest against allowing diplomatic relations with South Africa to remain unchanged and exempting third countries that act as commercial intermediaries from the boycott.

The youth organizations that participated in the cooperative effort for the arrangements for the event, among them apolitical groups, said in a letter addressed to the Youth Board that young people's apoliticalism and passive attitude toward national affairs constitute a serious matter for which a remedy must be found.

"The rally is completely open and outwardly directed. We must get young people to comment on Finnish policy when it is on the wrong track. The essence of such rallies is to create solidarity and be directed toward the future--after this rally, we must keep on mobilizing young people for the sake of important national issues," they say in the letter.

At New University House cooperation went smoothly: Conservatives sold tickets, the Social Democrats provided drinks, the People's Democrats provided food and the chairman of the DEVA [Democratic Alternative] took care of the poetry portion of the program.

Sanna Teiro of the Young Conservatives' Helsinki district summed up the organizations' objectives: "I don't believe that we will get them to immediately break off relations with South Africa, but the establishment is not so stupid that this will not have given them something to think about."

Polls Confirm New Attitudes

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 26 Jun 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Young People and Parties"]

[Text] Aging troubles all of Finland's parties. It is not only a problem for the Communists, although the disappearance of young people there is probably greatest at the present time.

The series of party congresses early this summer very well revealed the gap between the generations. Invested with positions of power, the "youth representatives" are mainly 40-year-olds of the big age groups. The crest of the wave of political activity--even overpoliticalization--occurred in their own youth. After the early 1970's, young people's interest in party politics declined. It has not yet been restored. The voices of the young are not heard in the parties.

The young people are also dormant during elections. Reports of the last parliamentary elections indicate that this development is moving in an ever worsening direction.

The older ones can cynically explain that today's young people had the good fortune to be born under circumstances that were too easy. There can be no question of this. If anyone does, it is the young people who realize that the world will never be perfect.

Young people's optimism with regard to development and improvement, their support for the soft values and their orientation toward internationalism are evident on the basis of opinion polls. They are transforming values into action in the alternative movements since there is nothing to attract them in the parties.

The poor shape the political youth organizations are in gives us cause for concern since a functioning party establishment will be a necessary requirement for this democracy in future as well.

The key importance of the youth organizations as a foundation for the molding of decision-makers endures, even though there are other channels to success in politics. From what kind of and from how big a group politicians of future years are selected is not a matter of indifference.

The party youth organizations have come to realize the inevitability of reform. And it is their own task. Both the forms and content of activities have to be changed. It is useless to hope for or press for money as a remedy since the political organizations already receive much more aid per active member than other youth organizations do. The "parent parties" must, of course, provide incentives for their young people, but being treated as wards is driving away the remaining enthusiasts.

More people who talk about affairs of concern to young people in young people's language are needed in Parliament, in the municipal councils and in posts that exert influence over the parties. It is in the interest of the country--and the parties. Yesterday's young people should not set themselves up as an obstacle in the way of the new generation purely because of the sweetness of power.

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EASE IN EAST-WEST TENSIONS WIDENS FOREIGN POLICY OPTIONS

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 26 Jun 87 p 2

[Commentary by Dr of Political Science Pekka Sivonen who works as a research assistant at the Peace and Conflict Research Institute in Tampere: "Finnish Foreign Policy's New Sphere of Action"; first paragraph is HELSINGIN SANOMAT introduction]

[Text] The lessening of tension the planned reduction in nuclear weapons appears to be leading to in Europe is opening new possibilities for Finland's foreign policy. Efforts to strengthen peace are getting more room to maneuver in, which should be exploited.

Because of our country's small size and geopolitical position, we have to carefully adapt our foreign policy to each sphere of action. Now that Finland has achieved recognition of its neutrality policy in both East and West, pressures to widen our freedom of action have relaxed. We have gotten used to a certain established situation which we believe will in general continue to exist.

Every now and then this calm surface is broken by the statements of experts in which they maintain that our security policy sphere is being changed in a dangerous direction. Some years ago attention was focused on the challenge posed to the monitoring of cruise missiles over our air space as well as on its possible political consequences. These past few years a heightening of the confrontation between the military alliances has been observed in northern waters.

We are, as it were, used to the fact that the discussion of possible changes in our sphere of action is centered on the debate over the importance of the threatening course developments are taking. Those who talk of change delight in being admonishers, those who press for continuity [in our foreign policy] in being pacifists. It is now high time to change our point of view. Specifically, fundamental changes are also at present taking place in our spheres of action in foreign policy and security policy, the significance of which is most obviously positive from our country's standpoint.

Major War Highly Unlikely

These changes by no means lie buried beneath negative courses of development, but are blended in with them. But hopes for the permanence of the traditional setup and fears of change are based on ossified patterns of thought.

The superpowers are in the process of reaching agreement on the removal of mid-range missiles from European soil. In the next phase they may start to eliminate thousands of "battlefield" nuclear weapons located by them in Central Europe, primarily artillery shells. So the superpowers are disengaging their nuclear armaments in Europe. When this is carried out, it will significantly affect our country's status and action potential. This can be divided into direct and indirect effects.

The direct effects would by their nature involve only security policy. Unless the reduction in nuclear weapons is compensated for by increasing conventional armament, the threat of a military confrontation will be lessened in Europe. Doubts have been raised to the effect that the danger of a conflict would increase through the elimination of more easily controllable nuclear weapons if it comes to war. Such judgments are based on a very narrow kind of military logic. The political realities of the situation in Europe make it extremely unlikely that a large-scale war will be touched off. Furthermore, it would only be a question of bilateral disengagement of the superpowers' nuclear armaments, not of elimination of the role of nuclear armaments.

High Time to Change Our Point of View

During the present decade emphasis has been laid in Finland's foreign policy on the critical nature of nuclear weapons. Thus in his UN General Assembly speech in the fall of 1983 President Koivisto in strongly worded terms supported nuclear disarmament. Koivisto expressed the view that resorting to nuclear weapons cannot further any sensible political objectives. On the basis of this, Finland changed its voting patterns in the United Nations and began to condemn the doctrine of a preemptive strike with nuclear weapons in a war situation.

Elimination of the superpowers' nuclear weapons from Central Europe would enable NATO to abandon the doctrine of a preemptive nuclear strike; the Warsaw Pact has already announced that it is abandoning it. The tension produced by the critical nature of nuclear weapons would then be eliminated from between Finland's peace and neutrality policies. The peace policy would acquire room to maneuver in.

The other direct effects of nuclear disarmament of immediate concern to our country would have to do with Northern European security. Nuclear missiles targeted on Northern Europe would be removed, at least from Soviet territory, and a course of development that would reduce the importance of nuclear weapons in the region could otherwise be set in motion. In the course of time this could improve the possibilities of creating a Nordic nuclear-free zone.

These positive consequences are, however, based on the assumption that the two parties would not compensate for the equipment to be withdrawn from Central Europe with naval nuclear armaments. The threat of cruise missiles flying over

our territory, for example, is specifically localized in missiles installed on ships and aircraft. The trajectories of ground-based cruise missiles would cross the southern part of our country.

The indirect consequences of a reduction of superpower nuclear weapons located in Europe would be political in nature. England and France's rapidly growing nuclear stockpiles would be excluded from the agreements and so a nuclear confrontation in our part of the world would be "Europeanized." The preconditions for more independent status than before for both superpowers' European allies would be improved.

The presence of American troops stationed in Europe is motivated by the raising of the nuclear weapon threshold: The longer NATO can fight with conventional forces, the safer the U.S. mainland is from nuclear retaliation by the Soviet Union. But, if NATO were to abandon the doctrine of a preemptive nuclear strike and American nuclear weapons were withdrawn from Europe, it would be harder to explain in terms of domestic policy why these troops should be maintained. Why would American taxpayers pay for a military presence that did not directly serve their own security needs?

But, even if the American troops are withdrawn from Europe, the political weight of NATO's European member nations would increase inside the alliance. In the course of time it might strengthen NATO, in which the lack of parity that has prevailed up to now may be eliminated.

The Soviet military presence in East Europe has always produced bad blood in the general population. During the present decade nuclear armament has brought these feelings to a head and publicly raised the issue of the problematic nature of this presence even at the official level. A few years ago the leaders of East Germany and Czechoslovakia were not very interested in receiving Soviet short-range nuclear missiles. To demonstrate that the Eurormissile dispute was also having an effect on East Europe's room to maneuver in, the Soviet Union forced East German party leader Erich Honecker to cancel his visit to West Germany in 1984.

The superpowers' introduction of nuclear arms in Central Europe has therefore confronted East Europe with the prospect of total nuclear destruction in a possible war. At the political level this armament has seriously limited the East European countries' chances of improving their relations with the West European countries.

East European Opinions Also Influenced

Their acceptance of Soviet nuclear weapons has reminded the East European countries of their subordinate position in relation to the Soviet Union in a very concrete way. Thus the superpowers' bilateral disengagement of their nuclear weapons would significantly influence East European opinions.

These indirect consequences of a reduction of nuclear weapons would obviously change our country's sphere of foreign policy action in a positive way. The conditions for better relations between East and West in our part of the world would be improved. The notion of a buffer zone, on which emphasis is laid in military logic, would lose importance in Soviet security policy, a fact which

would have its own potential effect from our country's standpoint too. The crumbling of the categorical nature of bloc politics would improve all the neutral European nations' options for taking action.

According to the old rule of thumb, the better relations between the superpowers are the greater Finland's chances of pursuing an active foreign policy on its own initiative. This has made Finland's activeness in foreign affairs particularly sensitive to the economic situation. A change in our sphere of action in terms of foreign policy may, however, influence this too.

A weakening of bloc politics in Europe would reduce the area's economic sensitivity to superpower politics. The prospect of a Europeanization is also giving the Finnish neutrality policy more room to operate in. Our country's neutrality is, after all, defined as an attempt to stay out of superpower conflicts of interest. So, instead of a battlefield for superpower advantages, a Europe that is disengaging itself from these concerns will offer us new options. The development of economic and political unification in West Europe will complement the above-discussed security policy situation. Our eyes are at present focused on the economic integration of the European Community, in which a shift to common markets is now being realized. To what extent does this changing situation offer Finland a favorable political prospect?

USSR Views World Less in Terms of Black and White

The USSR now views the world less in terms of black and white than it did during the last wave of West European integration. Frustrated with sudden shifts in superpower relations, the Soviet Union is now pragmatically promoting a more multilateral foreign policy in which good relations with a West Europe that is becoming unified occupy a central position. They are trying to improve and make more official relations with the European Community for the sake of the needs of their own national economy and to open the East European national economies to it.

This is why fostering our economic interests in West Europe will not in the years to come be as sensitive an issue in terms of foreign policy as it was in the early 1970's. Participation in the European change offers Finland a chance to assume a constructive role in Europe's East-West relations.

So, all things considered, there is clearly the potential for a positive change in Europe's security policy and economic future. Uncertainty always carries dangers with it, but also entirely new chances for improvement.

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BRIEFS

STALINIST YOUTH GROUPS EXPELLED--The Communist Youth League has expelled almost 500 local sections. The expelled organizations were all either Stalinist or otherwise defunct. The Communist Youth League expelled Stalinist-led regions already last year. The Stalinists who are active in this council of Red youth will be forming their own youth organizations in the future. [Text] [Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 20 May 87 p 10] 13002/13046

COMMUNIST PARTY SANCTIONS 'NEUTRALITY'--The Communist Party, which is preparing for its party congress, has changed its stance toward Finland's foreign policy. As recent as 1985 the party called for an "independent and pacifist foreign policy." The June meeting will be discussing the supporting of an "independent and pacifist policy of neutrality," and an "actively pacifist policy of neutrality." [Text] [Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 20 May 87 p 10] 13002/13046

CP QUASHES 'DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM'--The Aalto-led Communist Party will remove another -ism from its code. The sacred point of doctrine targeted for elimination this time is "democratic centralism" which, in plain language, means that the decisions of the party bind its member organizations and members. The concept was part of the 1957 by-laws but it cannot be found in the new draft of the by-laws although the same thing is said another way. Earlier Marxism-Leninism was already discarded into history's trash can. [Text] [Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 5 Jun 87 p 10] 13002/13046

CSO: 3617/103

NORWAY

POLITICAL

POLL INDICATES CONTINUED OPPOSITION TO EC MEMBERSHIP

Only 28 Percent Favor

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 27 Jun 87 p 3

[Text] The difference in the number of EC opponents and EC supporters in this country is still clear: at the time of the plebiscite in 1972 the no majority was 53.6 percent compared with 46.4 percent yes. A new poll by Scan-Fact shows 42 percent against Norwegian EC membership, and 28 percent for. Of a national group of over 1000, 24 percent answered that they would not have voted in a new EC plebiscite. The poll clearly shows the dominance of no votes among the young who could not vote in 1972. As for party affiliation, the only majority of yes votes for EC was in the Conservative Party (44 vs. 30 percent), and all the others had varying no majorities.

Dane: 'Member Before 2000'

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 1 Jul 87 p 8

[Article by Thorkild Dahl: "Norway an EC Member Before 2000"]

[Text] Copenhagen, 30 June--"Norway will be a member of EC before the year 2000. I have made that wager with good friends in Norway."

This statement was made by Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, who starting Wednesday will chair the meeting of EC foreign ministers.

Danmark will have the chairmanship for this half-year--with the significant prestige that the great EC gives to little Denmark.

Foreign Minister Ellemann-Jensen told AFTENPOSTEN that he considers it important during Denmark's chairmanship period that Denmark keep close contact between the EC and the other Nordic countries, although there will be world economic and world political subjects on the EC's, and thereby Denmark's, agenda.

The Danish foreign minister emphasized the statement about the EC in the Storting last month as a forward-looking Norwegian expression.

"In Norway they believe that there will be emphasis on the political events of Europe. That is a more constructive debate than the Danish debate, which still places more emphasis on the economic side. To that extent, the debate in Denmark is poor," said Uffe Ellemann-Jensen.

Will Balance EC

He emphasized that Norwegian EC membership would contribute to balancing the EC. The last expansions of membership all took place in southern Europe, with Greece, Spain and Portugal.

The Danish foreign minister's first job as chairman of EC will be a meeting Thursday with Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg in Copenhagen. On the agenda will be East-West relations and the situation in the Middle East.

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ARMY FORCED TO ABSORB INDUSTRY'S UNSOLD ARMS PRODUCTION

Vienna INDUSTRIE in German 3 Jun 87 pp 22-23

[Article by F. Korkisch: "Leftovers for the Army"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] In the face of stagnating markets, certain Austrian enterprises--but certainly not those which, by international standards, have first-class products to offer--will again try seriously to "sell" their products to the Austrian Army.

As in the past, they will try to land contracts through the provincial government chief executives, through elected representatives, through the quartermaster depots or through labor unions--and, if necessary, even against the will of the Ministry for National Defense--under the aspects of "home industry," "guaranteeing jobs," and "self-sufficiency in armaments," respectively.

This is a precarious situation for the Austrian Army.

The problems of various producers and in many branches of the economy are known, but enterprises cannot be subsidized in the long term by accommodation purchases.

Since money expended in this manner is then lacking for other acquisitions, firms with good products to offer wind up paying the piper in the end.

The evaluation criteria in arms purchasing must be compatible with tactical plans which, in turn, must be coordinated with each other.

To ensure this coordination, overall planning must follow a set acquisition policy, adhere to certain priorities and sequences, plan in advance the budgetary means for a decade at a time, correspondingly direct purchases, and coordinate troop organization, the supplying of equipment, maintenance, ammunition acquisition, depot organization and use of personnel with this overall planning.

Unsalable Tanks

For 5 years now this pattern has been interrupted: It began with the forced purchasing of "leftover" antitank armored vehicles of the "Kuerassier" type. For 5 years the acquisition of ammunition and other armaments, infrastructure projects, and above all the equipping of reserve units (mistakenly called "militia"), were curtailed because of this.

As a result, the Army had to accept, years sooner than planned, 1,000 trucks in order to spare that enterprise the consequences which will likely again be under discussion after the delivery of the last of these trucks.

After all, the conversion of approximately 100 M60-A1 battle tanks to the standard M60-A3 was awarded to this firm despite the fact that the assignment of this job to the American depot unit in Mainz would have resulted in quicker delivery and at a lesser cost.

At present, the Austrian Army, with its specialists, is making an effort to render assistance to this Austrian enterprise, which has no experience with heavy tanks, to enable it to fulfill the contract at all.

The question of retrofitting the M109 is also under discussion and--apart from the cost--hopefully the know-how will then be there!

This list could be extended. It does not even end with the 155-mm VOEST [United Austrian Iron and Steel Works] cannon, which must be towed by a heavy truck and whose cost considerably exceeds that of an M109-A2 self-propelled howitzer.

The Austrian Army has frequently become the distribution point for tax monies to firms which do not produce what the Austrian Army needs or wants, but rather which sell the Austrian Army what, contrary to all expectations, could not be sold abroad, or what it was believed could also be produced domestically despite the fact that the know-how is lacking.

At this point let Austrian industry be told that, in the future, the Army no longer wishes nor will it be able to make such purchases, not only because it lacks the budgetary resources, but also because there is ever greater resistance "internally" to concluding these kinds of purchases.

There are statements to this effect by the last three ministers and the Army chief of staff and they should be taken seriously.

But how are things to proceed from here?

First of all, it must be demanded that industry--with the exception of the areas of weapons systems electronics, communications, and infantry weapons, which are being serviced in an outstanding manner--pay heed to the requirements which the Army actually has.

Austrian national defense is based upon the militia system. Militia means the optimal exploitation of this country's personnel and material resources, joint responsibility for the Army's operational readiness, joint responsibility on the part of the legislature, economy and administration for overall national defense--and for the military aspect in particular.

This system requires a dialogue between the industrial and national defense establishments, a clear articulation of the Army's requirements in the area of materiel, and corresponding tailored responses by industry to the specifications and requirement portfolios analogous to the above-cited tactical and technical parameters.

In the coming decades the Austrian Army will revamp almost its entire equipment inventory and weaponry--that is, equipment with a total worth of approximately 50 billion Austrian schillings (at today's prices), and, additionally, ammunition, production tooling, spare parts, and infrastructure renovation in about the same scale.

Of course, a portion of this money will be spent abroad. It will not be worthwhile to produce a battle tank in Austria whose unit costs, because of the limited series production, amount to 120 million Austrian schillings and more, if the same item is available abroad for about 30 million Austrian schillings.

The same thing applies to aircraft, various special equipment, smart ammunition, advanced electronics, and also to guided weapons.

The break-even point for a contemporary infrared air-to-air weapon lies in the vicinity of 6,000 units.

There is, however, a requirement for new personnel and field equipment (steel helmet, NBC equipment, fragmentation protection), and, in addition, for new mortars, for "small caliber" high-velocity cannon and, beginning in the 1990's, for a new armored personnel carrier with versions for use by the medical and combat engineering services and for use as a weapons carrier.

Presumably, the Austrian Army also needs a small, cross-country vehicle which can also be employed as a weapons carrier.

Helicopters

There is a need for 24 to 48 new (armed) helicopters (which could possibly be assembled in Austria) if only because now as before the air transport capability is unsatisfactory, and also because antitank defense capability can be considerably augmented by such weapons platforms.

To be sure, industry must know that the Austrian Army will be obliged to respect the Austrian Industrial Standard 2050 and understand that the Ministry for National Defense cannot finance development but at most can provide know-how and a range of "good offices."

But it must not meddle in free competition as it is practiced in the Western industrial countries.

Austria's industry has an enormous stock of professional innovation and intelligence. In the coming times, which will doubtlessly not be easy ones, we will--in addition to money--need both.

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POSSIBILITIES FOR UPGRADING LEOPARD 2 ANALYZED

Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in German Apr 87 pp 48-55

[Article by Paul-Werner Krapke, graduate engineer: "Upgrading Combat Effectiveness of the Leopard 2"]

[Text] The combat effectiveness of the Leopard 2 main battle tank is still unequaled, its stability under load is constantly being improved by eliminating known deficiencies in the context of design changes. Field forces now have the knack for maintenance since the new electronics technology for organizational maintenance is no longer unfamiliar territory. Availability of the tanks is determined solely by the supply of replacement parts. An even more rapid supply could improve an already impressive situation. In contrast to that is an increasing threat from Warsaw Pact tanks--in this respect, it is not so much the number, but rather clearly the substantial increase in quality. Range and effectiveness of the weapons and armor are substantially closer to the West's values. Thus, what is more at hand than to give thought to how it may be possible to increase the combat effectiveness of the Leopard 2. In the following article former Leopard 2 project officer, graduate engineer Paul-Werner Krapke enumerates the various technical possibilities for improvement. Which of these are ultimately realized will naturally depend on military requirements, but also to a substantial extent on financial resources.

In all comparisons, the engine and track and suspension, the primary components of the undercarriage, are still without fault. Among other things, this became clear from its use in the Vickers Mark 7 main battle tank, the French version, adopting, with German agreement, the Leopard 2 undercarriage in the PAH [antitank helicopter]-2 design, and from the repeatedly occurring idea of making the U.S. M-1 Abrams main battle tank with an MTU [Motor and Turbine Union] engine acceptable to possible foreign buyers.

The following statement is no doubt justified: The undercarriage as a weapons carrier is well and adequately proportioned and in the distant future it will also meet the demands for main battle tank mobility. Nonetheless, it would be appropriate to explore measures which improve driving convenience and simplify maintenance.

It now appears that vibration and soundproofing--repeatedly requested--can be done through retrofitting. This includes:

- changing the exhaust lines by dissipating the exhaust gases into the cooling air flow,
- elastic suspension of the road wheels, the track support rollers, the final drive and the idler,
- reducing the idling speed of the engine and disconnecting individual cylinders (the resulting decreased generator output is sufficient for the energy requirements when on silent watch). Further reduction in sound would be linked to converting the weapon and turret directional equipment to electric drive.

The parking brake represents a significant factor in the maintenance of the undercarriage. When the Kpz [main battle tank]-70 engine was included in the Leopard 2 system, TUEV [FRG automobile inspection] demanded the separate parking brake as a second brake. According to the most recent findings, it would be possible to do without the auxiliary brake if, when dismantling or disconnecting the engine, mechanical locking of the sliding bushing can be done for the final drive. Then, in the future, operator activation of the parking brake would affect the main brake in the transmission.

Extending the service life as part of the maintenance can be achieved by using an NBC [nuclear, biological, chemical] filter unit if the charcoal filter cartridge is continuously dried. Using heat from the engine cooling water makes it possible to greatly extend the service life of this cartridge in peacetime use. Replacement prior to a combat mission will hardly be necessary.

Even after numerous depot maintenance jobs, the undercarriage, the cost of which amounts to about 40 percent of the total price, will provide peak performance as far as mobility is concerned. A vehicle turbine, which will perhaps be available in the year 2000, might well offer no decisive advantages which justify new development and manufacture of the undercarriage.

Fire Power

In the case of a permanent weapon, the fire power, which is determined by weapon (caliber and barrel length), ammunition and fire control system, undergoes continuous improvement because of improving ammunition.

Ammunition

Since the hit performance of kinetic energy ammunition is very good, product maintenance by the developing company is primarily concerned with increasing penetration performance by means of further metallurgical and design development of the penetrators. The values of the DU (depleted uranium)- penetrator in the United States, which are produced by melting metallurgy, are almost achieved by the tungsten heavy metals which are produced by sinter technology in the FRG. On the basis of

findings to date, even active armor protection does not diminish penetration performance.

A lengthened gun barrel would produce a vo-increase and thus likewise better penetration performance and thus represents a possible potential for growth. Since the barrel is an item subject to wear and tear (even if not on the scale of that in the Leopard 2) and altered ballistics values cause no problems for the digital computer of the fire control system, this increase in penetration performance could be done at any time--during barrel replacement. Thought has also been given to increasing the caliber (there has been talk of up to 145 mm). However, it would necessitate new turret design--and that can be considered only in connection with automatic loading equipment.

Shaped-charge shells of 120-mm caliber are less favorable. These are no longer adequate for penetrating the frontal armor (improved by active armor) which has been adopted in the latest Soviet tanks. Even possible improvements in shaped-charge performance will fall short with 120-mm caliber.

In the United States consideration is being given to how the tank can be fought from above with direct firing guns. As long as a particular type of ammunition achieves the kill-effect, the combat effectiveness of the system is not in question--and kinetic energy ammunition might well even continue to provide it.

Fire control System

The fire control system must satisfy additional requirements: guaranteeing 24-hour combat action under all kinds of operating conditions with simultaneous improvement in the accuracy of fire at distances greater than 2,000 to 4,000 m and increasing survivability through extensive automation of the target observation and target engagement operations.

Most important is improvement in the commander's observation capability at night, in mist and haze, by integrating a thermal image component in the commander's periscope and developing it to fight helicopters, in particular integrating a laser rangefinder. In order to produce a maximum degree of compatibility between laser and thermal imager the correct decision in this new development would be a CO₂-laser (which is also safe for the eyes). Because of the 10.6-mm wave length, a refrigerating machine, detectors and some optical components can basically be used for the CO₂-laser--and for the thermal imager (see WEHRTECHNIK, No 1, 1987, p 54). A CO₂-laser distance rangefinder guarantees that the distance to the target which is measured by the thermal imager is also correctly measured, even in artificially generated fog. (The latter is not picked up in the thermal image, but with an Nd:YAG-laser appropriately as a target range).

The combination of laser and thermal imager in the commander's periscope would provide a substantial increase in reactive capability on the part of the commander by night and day, because he can immediately fire

accurately if the situation so demands. Since this construction group is currently viewed by the user as an important retrofitting necessity, the most important companies have been engaged in developing such devices and are ready to test prototypes. The devices are the following:
PERI-RTW from Zeiss (PERI-RTW = periscope-panorama-day/heat)
ORP from KAE [Krupp Atlas Electronics] (ORP = optronic panorama-periscope)
OFLA from AEG [General Electric Co] (OFLA = optronic fire control system)
MODUS-P from Leitz (MODUS-P = modular duospectral sensor-periscope).

Since in the context of upgrading the combat effectiveness of the Gepard's antiaircraft armor an optical sensor is also required, it would be a happy logistic solution if the same decision were made for both combat vehicles. A modular method of construction would make a reduction in cost possible. But only a higher-level strong hand in the ministry can force the various officers of the two projects in the agencies to join efforts.

Since the efficiency of the current Nd:YAG laser in the EMES [binocular stabilized day/night laser/IR rangefinder]-15 does not correspond under all operating conditions to that of the integrated thermal imager, the latter should be replaced or modified by another laser (CO₂-laser or Raman addition). However, since the CO₂-laser is technically involved and not cheap, there would have to be a test to determine whether a Raman laser addition is adequate. The ratios of costs of the Nd:YAG, Raman, CO lasers is about 1:1.2:1.7-2.0. (The United States also intends to equip the M-1 with a CO₂-laser.)

Helicopter detection equipment seems to be the best in line a most important retrofitting step. Since helicopters attack tanks from the third dimension, at a distance of 4,000 to 5,000 m, the main battle tank is forced to defend itself against this threat. The first requirement is position because observation of the air from under armor protection is not possible with available equipment. A locating device should take a bearing and guide the gunner's gunsight. A prototype device which was built by Philips under official order proved the feasibility of this requirement.

It would be possible to ascertain the distance to the helicopter by using the integrated laser in the commander's periscope and the proximity fuse of the helicopter defense shell could be programmed accordingly. This programming takes place after loading the shell in the chamber of the gun by electric signals.

However, it would be possible to avoid measuring the distance with a laser in the case of a terminally guided defensive helicopter shell, such as that designed by Rheinmetall together with BGT [Lake Constance Equipment Technology]. Since the guidance is located in the shell, the only thing left for the commander's periscope or the gunner's gunsight is to select the target in terms of the previous position finding and bearing as well as target assignment.

It will have to be determined which expenditure for the fire control system and the shell will produce the best hit result in the two helicopter defense possibilities cited. Whether every battle tank has to be outfitted for helicopter defense or whether it is enough to equip one tank per platoon would have to be examined.

The original larger engagement range of German tanks in contrast to Soviet tanks has been lost because of Soviet efforts in technology. Thus, the numerical superiority of the Warsaw Pact is now once again very clearly visible and requires the consideration of increasing the engagement range. Since the optical visual range has a maximum of about 2,000 m, there should also be a multispectral sensor (IR [infrared] and radar, preferably extremely high frequency band radar) whose information can be blended into the gunner's sight singly or mixed. The sensor information should be processed into automatic tracking which produces a shortening of the reaction times. In terms of fire control technology this would then make possible almost simultaneous battling of several targets, one right after the other. Increasing the fire speed without introducing automatic loading equipment can only be achieved if the loader has been provided with the proper equipment—load help or drum magazine on the weapon. The object is to be able to discharge in about 2 to 3 seconds.

In order to retain current hit accuracy, even at rather large distances, the recording, evaluation and correction of all internal and external ballistic influences must be automated. This includes muzzle measurement and powder temperature measurement, perhaps even recording the crosswind across the trajectory which would have to be processed as a correction value. Eltro has produced an appropriate study.

The "finger-tip gunsight" represents a relatively lower technical expenditure. Since the commander likes to use 1:1 observation with the optical squares, it would be possible to equip the individual reflecting squares with a selector (pushbutton). In order not to lose the field of view when shifting to the periscope, the periscope is guided in the direction of the optical square used if the commander activates the pushbutton.

It would be practical to integrate all information using a digital data bridge in a "battlefield command and information system," which would have to be integrated in the fire control system. Switching to voice control with a VI [voice-integrated]-computer which gives warnings, receives instructions and executes commands would be possible. Such a system is being pursued with the United States. It would be desirable to include automatic drift alignment.

When using gyroscopes in the strapdown technique together with uniaxial accelerometers, it is possible to indicate the primary stabilization of the pointing device, the tracking of the weapon and, from situation information and accelerations by means of a navigation computer, the position in UTM [universal transversal Mercator]-coordinates. With the help of the vehicle's course angles the system can also define the location of the weapon in the area. The cant circle can thus be dispensed with.

Moreover, with knowledge of the target movement can be determined by means of reference to the movement of one's own vehicle is known. Thus, correct dynamic lead point formation is possible along with simultaneous accurate ballistic compensation. The navigational capability permits, with direction information, the use of the tank in indirect fire, that is without direct visual contact with the target.

The operational readiness of the fire command system could be enhanced if that internal test system is expanded by improving the software and storage capacity. The possibility of displaying texts and graphic representations at the commander's console would have to be examined. Introducing a "battlefield command and information system" would require integrating the test system with the latter.

Survivability

But the combat effectiveness of a system is established only if the survivability of the crew and vehicle is adapted to advances in technology. Since further development of the composite armor, in the form of integrated protective packets, resulted in substantial protective improvement, it is now time to deal with the exchangeability which the design accommodates. The battle tanks of the sixth lot will receive either fully or in part the new protective packets in the turret and undercarriage. Whether the Leopard 2's forward steel aprons should be exchanged for more effective ones with active armor should also be investigated.

The limited effectiveness of the shaped-charge ammunition, in the form of shell and rocket, against modern composite armor in the front and on the side led to the demand that ammunition be developed for the weak spot in the turret armor, the turret surface. Bomblets are a first step. In addition, there are guided missiles (for example, BILL in Sweden) which when overflying emit a shaped-charge jet which penetrates the turret surface.

In response to this some thought has been given to mounting active protective packets on the turret surface or providing protective shields or protective grids above the turret. The following changes would be necessary to do this:

- new turret hatches,
- raising the optical square by including protective hoods with simultaneous lengthening,
- raising the periscope,
- reworking the commander's console (seat, eyepiece, and the like).

This would also involve the decision to omit the gun-mount slewing rings in the future. The necessity for an antiaircraft machine gun which can be operated from the inside (similar to the M-1 or Leclerc) should also be investigated.

The ammunition storage bunker, which is located in the forward hull region, is especially vulnerable to damage from mines. Inclusion of protection

from mines would reduce the amount of ammunition stored there. It would be possible to locate it in the turret bustle if the electrohydraulic weapon guidance system were replaced by an electric unit. This unit is smaller, lighter and cheaper and consumes less energy--and is, moreover, quieter.

Smaller shaped-charges are not always lethal, but because of their smallest particles they can make parts of the fire control system sensitive and cause the entire system to break down. Thus, thought should be given to hanging Kevlar aprons in front of the equipment and lines in the crew compartment. If boron were put into the Kevlar fabric, then this would likewise be additional protection against neutron rays. NBC protection by the excess pressure system is guaranteed only if hull shell and turret housing are unaffected by the firing. Thus, thought should be given to including an additional air ring circuit with oxygen masks for all crew members.

To an increasing extent laser and radar rays are being used as guide beams for guided missiles. This threat can be met by:
--installing material which absorbs laser and radar rays, as currently used in flight technology. The costs would amount to about three percent of the project price.
--equipping with warning devices in order to recognize laser and radar rays. These devices must be coupled with the discharge devices for IR smoke grenades and chaff.

Another measure involves mounting thermal insulation mats which, when on silent watch, could be supplemented by a thermal camouflage net.

Cabling of devices which are to be installed new should be done with fiber glass cable in order to decrease the EMI [electromagnetic compatibility] and EMP [electromagnetic pulse] influence.

The demand which was raised in the 1960's for a navigation system is again alive today since now fighting must also be done at night. This makes navigation difficult. Haze and fog and battlefield management make orientation urgently necessary. A navigation device, or at least a compass, should be present in the equipment of a battle tank.

In addition, the operator must have night vision equipment with high performance capability. Whether that must definitely be a thermal imager, as in the case of the commander and gunner, would still have to be very carefully looked into. A low-light-level amplifier with third-generation tubes (which extend into the IR region) would surely be sufficient.

Of course, side vision should also be improved in the future. In this connection there should be no change in the existing periscope casings.

To change position at night a TV camera with low-light-level amplification, whose image is blended into the driver's sighting equipment, should be mounted on the tank rear. Commander and loader would be able to observe reverse motion via monitors.

Simultaneous Retrofitting and Major Repairs

All the measures enumerated to upgrade combat effectiveness are possible without changing the basic design of the Leopard 2. A Leopard 2 which is retrofitted as suggested would meet the threat far into the 12st century.

Retrofitting could be done at intervals in the context of major repair work (approximately every 10 years). If there should be further acquisition of the Leopard 2 in the 1990's, then the measures to upgrade combat effectiveness should be part of the manufacturing process. But the prerequisite for this is the timely beginning of experimental development with production of test models. German industry, which has been involved in development and production, paved the way and developed a part of the possibilities mentioned for upgrading combat effectiveness and intends to combine them together in an experimental vehicle. The findings will provide the user with the opportunity to specify more precisely his requirements and to set them out in tactical requirements which should also contain even more of the KWS [combat effectiveness upgrading]- possibilities mentioned. The chart [not included] shows a possible time frame for upgrading combat effectiveness.

KWS 1 contains the measures which were prepared by industry without tactical requirements, KWS 2 becomes operative only after tactical requirements are present. The goal in this is gradual upgrading of combat effectiveness in the context of major repair work. In developing the construction groups attention must be paid to the fact that construction is modular so that supplementing and improvement through additional combat effectiveness upgrading present no problems.

The extensive upgrading of combat effectiveness is provided in the case of the Leopard 2 by an adequate weapons carrier (undercarriage) and weapons adequate to meet the threat. No time limit on the service life of the system is anticipated from fatigue of the "cell." Global change into a new battle tank system would come about only with the introduction of the electromagnetic gun. It is not possible to offer a timetable for this today.

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WELLERSHOFF URGES CAUTIOUS POLICY FOR WEAPONRY INNOVATION

Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in German Jun 87 pp 14-20

[Article by Admiral Dieter Wellershoff, Armed Forces Chief of Staff: "Aspects of the Technological Challenge"; first paragraph is WEHRTECHNIK Introduction]

[Text] Armed Forces Chief of Staff Admiral Dieter Wellershoff opened the 62d working conference of the German Association for Military Technology with an address which received considerable attention since it dealt with matters which are of equal concern to the military, defense officials and the defense industry. Admiral Wellershoff raised issues that ranged from the technological challenge to men, to the very real threat--that remains unchanged in spite of Moscow's seductive overtures--to the demands posed by the design and development process of future military equipment which the Armed Forces, the defense sector and industry must take to heart. The Chief of Staff knows whereof he speaks, since he, himself, had been for several years the admiral responsible for the Navy's weapons and equipment at Hardhoehe.

The technological challenge is directed at men. This fact applies especially to the Armed Forces. The sum total of the capabilities of the Bundeswehr, which constitutes our contribution to the defense of our country, rests on the quantity and quality of available equipment, the effectiveness of which is only assured by the soldiers' and civilian employees' proficiency in dealing with it.

The user's main concern is his ability to handle and later maintain his weapon or vehicle and to acquire the requisite skills to assure that the potential of the respective item of equipment can be fully utilized under all conditions.

The Military Leader

Military leaders on all levels must strive to reach this goal in the course of routine training activities. Moreover, these leaders--from a squad leader to the commanding general of a Corps; from the guidance officer of a fighter aircraft to the ATAF [Allied Tactical Air Force] commander; from the commander of a speedboat to the admiral in charge of a fleet--must be able to assess accurately the capabilities and limitations of the equipment at their disposal and consequently to learn not only how to employ their subordinate units--both tactically and strategically--appropriately under all conditions but also to utilize military equipment as effectively and also as considerately as possible.

It would be difficult to find tasks in the private sector which are as complex as these considering that even a brigade commander not only must lead about 3,500 soldiers but also has at his disposal more than 900 wheeled and tracked vehicles and a multitude of weapons, ammunition, and communication equipment, to name but a few of the items.

Impact on a Unit's Routine

When equipment--a weapon, an aircraft, a ship or a vehicle--is introduced into the Armed Forces, it creates additional challenges for the already difficult routine of a unit. It also creates an additional strain if military equipment remains in service longer than planned or appropriate because the development or procurement of new equipment had not been initiated in time or because the desired results came too late. When new, modern equipment is delivered, we all have a responsibility--which we meet in many different ways--to keep the technological challenge to the troops as small as possible.

Evolution as a Challenge

There are, of course, technological challenges in an earlier phase--prior to the introduction and use of new military equipment--for a large group of people with the most diverse tasks. This phase involves the development engineer as much as the legislator in defense and appropriation committees; the employee in the armament department of the Ministry of Defense as much as the thinker pondering political-strategic or operational concepts in and out of the government. For all these people the challenge posed by new technology must be specifically defined in accordance with their role.

I should like to emphasize once more that I view challenges as being directed exclusively at people and not at one technology as opposed to another. This differentiation is important to me because I want to dispel the notion that people who are not technicians or engineers can respond to the challenges of new technologies only in a passive and inert manner. I am convinced that the process of developing new technologies is generally evolutionary although, admittedly, proceeding at a different pace.

Leaps Are Rare

The sudden creation of a new technology and its application to military equipment is, in my opinion, a great exception and when it did occur, it also had unpredictable consequences. The atomic bomb of 1945 is a classic example. But predictable developments are, nevertheless, frequently characterized as technological leaps because many people, who are only indirectly involved with technology, fail to keep track of progress and do not assess its impact on their own sphere of activity.

The wide range of technological development relevant to military equipment and the effort required to remain adequately informed--and this is directed particularly at soldiers in the Armed Forces--often lead to feelings of resignation. Such a resigned attitude leads in turn to a special kind of hostility against technology because it is easier to operate and maintain something which has proven itself than it is to conquer something new.

Technological Training

Therefore, I ask all soldiers to develop the habit of regularly reading one of the excellent technical military journals and to cultivate special technological interests, preferable within their field of activity. A personnel or logistics officers who has acquired his own mini-computer and works with it in his free time will be more receptive to the introduction of new forms of data processing in his job. A young officer in an armored unit who has made it a habit to keep abreast of all technological developments relating to armored and antitank warfare will have more self-assurance during discussions and will have a better chance of succeeding in the defense environment when in later years he finds himself assigned to system responsibilities within the Army Staff. Only thus can technological stagnation in the Armed Forces be prevented at the user level.

Challenges Relating to Strategic and Tactical Concepts

The constant process of learning and evaluation, in which we should all be engaged both within and outside the Armed Forces, also pertains to the general nature of war and its impact on the structure of armed forces, the assignment of missions, and the further development of strategic and tactical standards.

I am of the opinion that discussions about such questions are sadly lacking here. One reason for this phenomenon is that to a certain extent we all were, and still are, fascinated by the supremacy of nuclear weapons and that consequently discussions are frequently confined to strategic nuclear problems. In some places the view is also expressed that deliberations of purely military matters by a broad segment of the public tend to lead to a militarization of society which I would also consider undesirable. The small number of German military publications on this subject which are not written by active or retired officers is unfortunately sufficient proof of this.

Defense and Offense

The introduction of modern technology always raised the basic question whether it is the defense or the offense which is thereby favored more and what conclusions can be drawn from this.

When the London International Institute for Strategic Studies in 1976 published Richard Burt's Adelphi Paper on the technology of new weapons, one of his most important conclusions was that technological progress favors the defense.

To determine whether this conclusion is still valid today requires a thorough analysis taking into account developments which have had a contrasting effect.

On the one hand, there is the weapons' increased effectiveness over a wider area because of innovations relating to ammunition and means of dispersal and because new sensors have drastically reduced "miss distance" from the target.

On the other hand, advances in defensive techniques have not only reduced the vulnerability of the defender but, most important, also that of the attacker. Do these developments tend to cancel each other out?

Measures and Countermeasures

The first use of an aircraft for reconnaissance purposes--and of course the increased weapon effect--led to the concept of "battlefield vacuum" even before World War I. In view of new high-resolution sensors, which can be employed at a considerable distance from the enemy, we have to expect that in future battlefield movements will freeze. Large units could hardly advance without detection. Camouflage and deception would lose a large part of their value. The element of surprise--which Clausewitz still perceived as the basis for all actions--could no longer be achieved with extensive movements of units. Smaller combat units, equipped moreover with greater fire power than heretofore, would define the battlefield. To what extent these prognoses will become reality, and what consequences will have to be drawn with respect to Bundeswehr organization and equipment will depend decisively on the extent to which countermeasures can influence these developments. Electronic warfare today already contains the element of countermeasures against hostile electronic warfare.

We shall therefore have to reckon with intelligent countermeasures against "smart" ammunition or improved reconnaissance capabilities.

What Are the Conclusions to be Drawn from This? Which Technology is the Right One?

The success or failure of our military efforts will depend to a greater degree than heretofore on the timely and correct application of technological innovations. Competing technologies are engaged in a race not only in the classic arena of armor and protection but also in a multitude of technical areas which are either specific to the individual services of Army, Air Force and Navy or which apply to all of them. The status of each competition at a given time determines success or failure of specific investments. There can be no question that investments must be chosen primarily with a view to the threat.

However, during implementation one has to consider whether the discussed solutions will be available in time and what effect they will have on the scarce resources of manpower and money. Since armed forces must be able to fulfill their mission at all times, it is necessary to keep them at the required level of combat effectiveness and operational readiness. Thus, the perfect solution to a problem may not be feasible because the effort required for its implementation may reduce the armed forces' operational readiness in other ways. Instead of taking a big leap ahead, we will often have to settle for advances in small and steady increments and we will have to be sure that the next step always contains the option of implementing the one to follow.

Mission Orientation

Investment decisions are becoming so complex and, in view of the disproportionate increase in the cost of new technologies, so expensive that we all have to be careful to provide for separate missions wherever they are needed but to look for mission-oriented solutions which overlap the services wherever possible. I believe that there are particularly promising possibilities for coordination between the services, and consequently for cost-effective solutions, in the areas of reconnaissance and command and

control. In view of limited resources and persistent bottlenecks of personnel and money, we can afford duplication of effort less than ever.

The Strategic Challenge

As the primary military advisor of the federal government, the chief of staff is legally obligated to respond to the question whether the Alliance is pursuing an appropriate military strategy to assure peace with freedom and whether adequate and proper resources are allocated for its implementation.

Liddell Hart comments on the perfect strategy as follows: "A perfect strategy would be one by which a decision is reached without serious combat." The military content of NATO's strategy--which one can briefly define with the formula "peace through credible deterrence"--will remain a "perfect strategy," as defined by Liddell Hart, as long as our defensive capabilities remain sufficiently credible to keep a potential aggressor from implementing his plan. Credibility, however, is in the mind of a potential opponent. On the one hand, we have to demonstrate the might of our Armed Forces adequately, on the other hand, we have to convince him of our determination to employ this force in case of aggression.

No Real Change in the Threat

I must caution against the assumption that Moscow's political comments of the past few months--which should be positively assessed--are already guarantees of a profound change of attitude. Only if the Soviet Union showed itself willing in the course of disarmament negotiations to reduce its, for defensive purposes oversized, forces and responded to our legitimate security concerns, could we say that a true change of course has occurred--the kind of change which would also affect our own military posture. Until such time, however, we have the obligation for the sake of our security to consider the current strength of Eastern forces as a yardstick for defensive efforts.

A defensive capability is neither an abstract nor a constant value. In peacetime it must be assessed in relation to the enemy's offensive potential and it is always subject to change because of greater or lesser efforts on both sides. The fact that during the past 40 years Western military strength has also been decisively defined by nuclear weapons, has indeed led to the illusion that only a certain technical superiority in a specific militarily relevant area is needed to maintain assured security even under changed conditions.

Instead, it is correct to say that the military posture required for a credible deterrence depends on the enemy's military potential and his ability and willingness to accept risks and casualties. The ratio of quality to quantity of military resources can only be varied within narrow limits and must always be assessed from the point of view whether our forces and those of the Alliance are deterring a potential aggressor from carrying out his plans.

Nuclear Weapons

The role of nuclear weapons in our strategy has undoubtedly changed as a result of Soviet armaments in this field which has given the Soviet Union parity with the United States in intercontinental strategic nuclear weapons

and superiority in short-range and intermediate-range systems in the European theater. The numerical ratio of nuclear weapons between East and West is hereby less significant than frequently assumed. We all want a world with fewer nuclear weapons.

However, I find it difficult to imagine how, in the foreseeable future, we could achieve the same measure of security without nuclear weapons in view of the geographic asymmetry of the Eastern and Western Alliance within Europe and because of the conventional superiority of Eastern forces. A nuclear-free Europe that offers the same security can only be visualized if the East's conventional superiority is eliminated and if a way can be found which would allow us to view our disadvantaged geographic position as having no effect on our security. Until then it remains important that an aggressor must assume with certainty that his aggression would lead to a degree of destruction from both conventional and nuclear weapons which he would consider to be unacceptable.

Keeping Liddell Hart in mind, we must take care that our perfect strategy of credible deterrence is also backed by the means on which credibility rests. This is the background against which strengthening of conventional defenses assumes ever greater importance.

The Challenge to Our Technological Capabilities

Clausewitz's book "Vom Kriege" [On War], written before the industrial age, mentions five strategic elements: the moral, physical, mathematical, geographical, and statistical elements. He saw numerical superiority as playing a decisive role. I am convinced Clausewitz would have defined technology as the sixth element of strategy if he had written his book after the detonation of a nuclear bomb over Hiroshima, or at least after Morse invented the telegraph in 1832 or after 1846 when the VIth Prussian Corps with 12,000 men was moved to Krakow by rail.

The most important task all of us face is to strengthen our conventional defenses, and thus preserving a credible deterrent, by the deliberate transformation of modern technologies into military equipment.

Prognoses and Reality

If we believed all technological predictions, we would have little need to worry about accomplishing this task. Let me cite three examples:

--The development of information technology will lead to more effective, more comprehensive, faster and more reliable reconnaissance of the enemy, transmission of data, communications in all areas, and destruction of hostile forces.

--Sensor technology in conjunction with information technology will provide us with reconnaissance which will enable us to attack a target far behind the front lines, a target the existence of which we would frequently not even be aware of today. Sensor technology will also produce a weapon which would reach its target over such distances with a precision as yet unimaginable.

--Innovative materials and construction techniques will take the race between protection and armor of combat vehicles into new dimensions and permit the construction of aircraft and vehicles which can hardly be acquired anymore with radar equipment.

One could believe that with such prospects we need worry about strengthening our conventional defenses by applying innovative technology.

However, without thereby basically doubting technological predictions, I would still like to add some other important points.

Step-by-Step Progress

Far-reaching goals are always an incentive toward greater and better performance. However, technical plans can only be realized step-by-step, and for that reason those who set up military requirements for defense equipment as well as those which try to satisfy these requirements must proceed in manageable increments.

We should not try to push technological progress forward by defining requirements for the day after tomorrow today and then insist that they be satisfied tomorrow. As a result, the units would have to wait too long for new equipment and would be furnished with inadequate equipment for an unacceptable length of time. The fact that technical progress is sometimes slower than expected can be demonstrated by the following example: When the United States Air Force in April of last year attacked targets in Libya, it used an improved version of the laser-guided PAVEWAY bomb which had already been employed in Vietnam in 1972. It is still a first generation example of so-called smart ammunition in which the target is marked by a laser beam and the appropriate sensor then guides the weapon to the target. Nevertheless, listening to various comments on smart ammunition, one could believe that we will shortly have weapons which will independently find and destroy a moving land target such as a battle tank.

Effort-Performance Ratio

It must also be noted that a project should not be carried out merely because, if looked at in isolation, it appears to be responsive to the threat and because it is a component that will help the Bundeswehr fulfill its mission. Such a project must also be justified from the perspective of the overall plan which evaluates the contribution of this project to the defense capabilities of the Armed Forces in relation to its costs, taking into consideration certain priorities. A shortage of resources calls for solutions for which the effort required to provide a specific performance is kept as small as possible. In the final analysis, cost-effectiveness relates to the decisive performance: The destruction of a hostile tank, aircraft, air field, or ship.

In addition, the effort required for training, materiel maintenance and storage must also be considered for peacetime operations. Such an analysis should evaluate the project itself, as well as additional peripheral systems, with regard to personnel and budgetary requirements. Each of these two factors is subject to its own legal constraints and other constraints which, for instance, preclude that an anticipated shortage of personnel can be overcome by increasing the budget.

I am not saying anything new when I state unequivocally that new military equipment must make equally economical use of both personnel and fiscal resources.

How can this be accomplished?

"Force Multipliers"

The combat effectiveness of an army, air force, or naval unit is the result of numerous factors. Proper training of soldiers is just as indispensable to high combat effectiveness as the performance capability of weapons and equipment is to the direct accomplishment of a mission. Whether the anticipated performance is accomplished at the right time and in the right place, however, also depends on a variety of peripheral systems.

Reconnaissance as well as command and control systems are, in this sense, classic multipliers. Real time and accurate information about the enemy satisfies an important condition for the effective use of one's own weapons; only a reliable command and control system that functions flawlessly at all levels of command provides the unit commanders' information about the condition of their unit and permits initiation of appropriate responses as well as unambiguous transmission of operation orders. Technical efforts for such multipliers are at least as effective in raising the Bundeswehr defensive capabilities as spectacular new weapon systems.

Platform--Combat Equipment

Generation and follow-on concepts are a thing of the past. New weapon systems will also have to be introduced in the future when threat-oriented requirements cannot be met in any other way. Aside from that, we should learn to think in terms of functions and functional elements. The platform--a vehicle, aircraft, or ship--does not necessarily have to be replaced because the performance of a specific function has changed. A telling example of this concept is the retrofitting and reactivation of the more than 40-year-old U.S. Navy battleships of the IOWA class.

This internal modernization, as I would like to call it, requires even closer contacts between user and industry than has existed heretofore.

Growth Potential

New military equipment should be designed in such a way that it has a high potential for subsequent increases in combat effectiveness and this potential should be fully exploited during the utilization phase. Greater emphasis should be placed on standardization of various functions and systems as a means of achieving cost reductions. Improved interoperability within allied forces remains an important objective. New constructions should attempt to employ modular designs for systems and to utilize existing modules, replacing them later as combat effectiveness is improved.

Risk Reduction: The 80 Percent Solution Plus Growth Potential

Military equipment has its origin in requirements of military users which are defined at the beginning of the development process. Industry then tries to

satisfy as many of these requirements as possible. As a result, projects often exceed planned time and fiscal constraints. We are already frequently placed into a position--and will be even more so in the future--in which we are no longer able to modify our planning in these areas; instead we are forced to abandon the particular project. This is to the detriment of the intended enhancement of our Armed Forces' defensive capabilities as well as the affected industry. The only remedy here is close collaboration in the form of joint assessment of the impact that satisfying one or the other specific requirement would have on cost or on the planned time frame. The user should contemplate from the start a feasible solution to the problem which meets, for instance, only 80 percent of requirements, and industry should then make a corresponding bid.

Future modernization will progress primarily in small and steady increments rather than in big leaps. Not all these small steps can be bureaucratically controlled. They require mutual coordination between participating industrial enterprises which can only be accomplished as a result of independent initiatives.

The sooner all of us, industry and bureaucracy, understand the need for and adjust to the inevitably changing procurement mode of the Armed Forces, the greater the likelihood that the Bundeswehr will be equipped, quantitatively and qualitatively, to face the threat. I should like to ask all of you to join me in directing your attention to such 80-percent solutions and to internal modernization as I called it. Only if government and industry respond jointly in the indicated manner to the phenomenon of scarce resources and cooperate even more closely, will we be able to reach our goal of strengthening our conventional combat effectiveness.

12628

CSO: 3620/290

MODERNIZATION PLANS FOR LUFTWAFFE WEAPONS SYSTEMS REVIEWED

Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in German Jun 87 pp 44-47

[Article by Wolfgang Flume: "Luftwaffe Modernizes Assigned Weapons Systems"]

[Text] This publication has in the past frequently reported on the two major combat effectiveness upgrading programs of the Luftwaffe--the F-4F and the Alpha Jet. Aside from these, however, the Luftwaffe is also planning improvements of other assigned aircraft, helicopters and missile systems--designated combat effectiveness upgrading, combat effectiveness preservation, or life cycle extension, depending on the amount of work involved. The following report gives information on these programs.

It is hard to believe, but a fact, nevertheless: Weapons systems of the Luftwaffe have a life cycle of up to 45 years following approval of the operational requirement. The utilization period itself comprises circa 25 years and in some cases more, so that, for example, the F-104G was operational for 27 years, the F-4 will reach 30 years, as will Nike, and the Hawk will even make it to 40 years. No wonder, then, that the armed forces are applying pressure [urging] that at least the time consumed by the concept, definition and development phases be shortened, but at the same time they are also proposing that the technical feasibility of subsequent combat effectiveness upgrading and combat effectiveness upgrading and combat effectiveness preservation be "integrated" from the outset into future weapons systems. This was already proposed by the former chief of the subdivision for air force military hardware in the ministry of defense, Assistant Secretary Heyden (Combat Effectiveness Upgrading--A Continuation of the Development, in WEHRTECHNIK 10/86, p 36), and also the current chief of the staff section Fuel VII (Armament), Brig Gen Detlef Wibel (Graduate Engineer (Professional School)), pointed out during a WEHRTECHNIK seminar that the requirements defined in an operational requirement can also be appropriately realized "in progressive stages." This would mean that weapons systems are developed in clearly defined substeps, with the first step being a sort of basis development and subsequent substeps being carried out as combat effectiveness upgrading or combat effectiveness preservation measures.

Key components for gradual adjustments to operational requirements up to their complete fulfillment must then be planned, developed and tested

simultaneously with the basic development. According to Wibel, the benefits for the Luftwaffe as the using agency would then be as follows:

--more rapid availability of weapons systems and weapons capable of meeting the threat,

--greater flexibility in adapting weapons systems to changes, e.g. in the technology, mission, threat,

--"stretching" of the programmed budgetary appropriations for development and procurement,

--decreasing the risk of exceeding the time and cost limits,

--assuring an acceptable level of combat effectiveness of weapons systems over a utilization period which, all things considered, is longer than at present.

The upgrading of combat effectiveness, the preservation of combat effectiveness and life cycle extension measures should therefore not be stopgap and interim solutions, as is unfortunately still true today in most cases, but rather should be the subject of long-range planning. In that way, especially the technically new solutions become ready for utilization sooner; in the electronics sector, for instance, new generations come at 5-year intervals. In addition, knowledge gained from combat effectiveness upgradings can also be of value for new developments. Under no circumstances, however, should combat effectiveness upgradings be "substitute measures" for new developments that were curtailed prematurely for lack of funds.

However, all improvements to existing weapons systems must be examined with a view to the cost-benefit ratio--which can sometimes lead to heated discussions and thus to program delays. (On the other hand, however, the following relationship should also be considered in the process: for what it would cost to combat effectiveness-upgrade 150 fighter aircraft, one would get, at most, 15 to 20 new fighter aircraft!) Limits are set in those cases where the remaining utilization period is too short, or where the growth potential is not sufficient to permit the weapons system to still perform its assigned tasks in a manner equal to the threat. New developments, therefore, will always be necessary--their combat effectiveness, however, assuming that the proposal to treat combat effectiveness upgradings as an extension of the development is followed, can be improved on a continuing basis and not only once or twice at extended intervals.

Combat Effectiveness Upgrading of the F-4F

An initial combat effectiveness upgrading program, PEACE RHINE, for the 175 F-4F Phantom II procured in the 1970's, calling for improved performance in air-to-air operations and adapting the aircraft to the Maverick air-to-surface missile, was completed in 1984.

The operational requirement for another combat effectiveness upgrading was approved at the end of 1983, with the concept phase completed in mid-1984 and the definition phase in October 1986, so that the development contract was concluded with MBB [Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Blohm] in November 1986. The reequipment program is to begin at the end of 1989 and is to last circa 4 years, so that the combat effectiveness-upgraded F-4F will have a remaining service life of approximately 10 years.

Aside from several measures designed to extend the life cycle, the combat effectiveness upgrading program constitutes a decisive improvement of the aircraft's air-to-air combat capability, thanks, among other things, to

- integration of the radar-guided medium range missile AMRAAM,
- installation of the pulse doppler radar APG-65 for the complete utilization of the performance capability of the AMRAAM,
- exchange of the inertial navigation system and the air data computer,
- installation of an additional mission computer.

The new radar and the missiles are to be integrated only into the fighter aircraft, while the other measures are to be carried out with all F-4F (fighters and fighter-bombers).

Combat Effectiveness Upgrading of the Alpha Jet

The 175 close air support aircraft Alpha Jet were procured between 1978 and January 1983; at almost the same time already, the Luftwaffe began to reflect on ways to adapt the aircraft to the changing threat during the years to come. This included, among other things, research on:

- increasing the ballistic protection,
- accommodation of modern air-to-air and air-to-surface armament,
- sensors for range determination and establishment of an all-weather/night combat capability,
- decreasing the radar and infrared signature, and
- utilizing synthetic materials for load-bearing components.

Meanwhile, the military technical objective has reached the joint signature stage, so that work on the definition phase can begin still this year. Being considered is a modernization of the Alpha Jet in the early 1990's, which could include the following measures:

- improvement of the air-to-surface combat capability through the accommodation of new weapons and through an improved weapons delivery system and greater navigational accuracy,
- improvement of the [mission] execution capability and survivability with passive self-protection and electronic warfare equipment,
- improvement of the air-to-air capability through the integration of air-to-air missiles (against helicopters) and a more accurate, simplified weapons delivery,

--other measures, such as a one-piece windshield and a stall warning indicator, for example.

Linked to these measures is an equipment plan for an electronic warfare self-protection system and--begun in the meantime--an improvement of the LARZAC engines through a replacement of parts and modules. The total costs of the combat effectiveness upgrading are considerable. What measures are really carried out in the end depends in large part on the results of the definition phase.

Combat Effectiveness Preservation of the Tornado

The delivery of the Tornado aircraft of lots 1 to 6 that were ordered by the Luftwaffe and the navy (210 and 112 aircraft, respectively) is to be completed by 1989. It was trilaterally agreed to evaluate the experiences gathered during operation and production and to carry out the continued development of the weapons system jointly.

The Luftwaffe decided already in 1981 to have technical changes made, in order in this way to

- eliminate [correct] known weaknesses or those manifesting themselves during operation,
- improve the survivability,
- support the adaptation of modern munitions to the aircraft, and
- extend the all-weather combat capability so as to include air targets at close range as well.

These reflections, triggered by the planned introduction of the antiradar missile system Harm by the Luftwaffe and the navy, of the similar Alarm system by British forces, and of the Maverick by Italian forces, then led to a modification program coordinated with the partner and designated "First Upgrade." This includes:

- implementation of the MILBUS 1553A and its 128K main computer with improved software,
- establishment of a standardized interface with Harm,
- improvement of the terrain-following radar and the flight control system,
- improvement of the electronic warfare possibilities.

These modifications will not be gradually carried out until the mid-1990's on all delivered aircraft of lots 1 to 6, and from the 7th lot on (35 ECR Tornado for the Luftwaffe) will be integrated into the series production.

Combat Effectiveness Preservation of the RF-4E

The necessity for combating hostile ground forces in depth (FOFA concept) has pointed up the significance of modern reconnaissance systems. The Luftwaffe has studied the requirement for reconnaissance means and has prepared a model designated "Tactical Reconnaissance System 90." The first step then taken to close the reconnaissance gap was the order for

35 ECR Tornado, a subsequent step will probably lead to improvements in the RF-4E reconnaissance aircraft (in service since 1971).

Thought is being given here to various "measure packages":

--Package 1 is designed to preserve the operational readiness for the long term through extending the life cycle of the airframe and equipment replacement and/or elimination of technical weaknesses (including the AN/APQ-99 radar and radar altimeter).

--Package 2 comprises measures for increasing the [mission] execution capability (including a radar warning receiver, jamming and deception transmitters).

--Package 3 is to bring improvements in the extraction and utilization of the results of reconnaissance, e.g. air imagery interpretation, combat effectiveness preservation of sidelooking radar.

--Package 4 supplements packages 1 to 3 with respect to assuring combat effectiveness. This includes, among other things, the thermal imager, LINS (Laser Inertial Navigation System), IRLS (Infrared Line Scanner), and ODIN (Operational Data Interface).

An operational requirement for the combat effectiveness preservation is in the joint signature stage. The next 8 to 10 years are planned as the period of realization.

Combat Effectiveness Preservation of the C-160 Transall

The C-160 Transall transports procured in the early 1970's were originally intended to remain in service until the end of the 1980's, but they have worked out so well (and no available successor model is in evidence either) that they are to be flown until approximately the year 2010. This is, of course, not possible without life cycle-extending and combat effectiveness-upgrading measures, especially since the LOPAN stations on which the navigation is now still based are to be dismantled and in addition the crew is to be reduced from four to three.

Contributing to the life cycle extension are a reinforcement of the wing center section as well as several measures to counter materiel fatigue and corrosion.

The combat capability is to be improved through an adaptation of the aircraft to new operational demands and the modification of equipment (including autonomous navigation system, high frequency radio, weather radar, TACAN AN/ARN-118). Added to these would be several environmental protection measures, such as reduced emission of pollutants and the jettisoning of remaining fuel. Also belonging here are certain logistic activities, such as modification overhauls, special inspections and modification of the flight simulator.

Work has meanwhile begun. The time period until completion of the measures extends from now until approximately the mid-1990's.

Combat Effectiveness Preservation of the UH-1D Helicopter

The UH-1D transport and search-and-rescue helicopters procured from the mid-1960's on are to be replaced only in part from the mid-/late-1990's on in the course of a half-generation change by the projected light transport/search-and-rescue helicopter NH-90. This means that circa 55 UH-1D must remain in service until long after the year 2000.

In order to preserve its serviceability and for technical-logistic reasons, a retro-fitting therefore becomes necessary--and an operational requirement to this effect has been submitted.

Consideration is being given, for example, to improving the night combat capability, the operational control/mission execution, the instrument flight combat capability, and the combat capability when icing conditions have been forecast.

The new equipment will probably include:

- a navigational system,
- a radio compass,
- chart plotting equipment,
- a high frequency radio for a data link as well,
- UHF cockpit equipment,
- adapting the cockpit for flying at night with image intensifying glasses,
- the TACAN AN/ARN-118,
- a two-way radio,
- an icing warning system, and
- machine gun weapons stations for combat rescue missions, i.e. the rescue of aircrews which have bailed out over hostile territory.

The retrofitting, much of which is to be done in repair facilities of the Luftwaffe, should take place from 1988 to 1991.

Combat Effectiveness Preservation of the Hawk

The Hawk surface-to-air missile system introduced from the early 1960's on has already undergone two combat effectiveness upgradings: from 1975 to 1979 in the course of the HELIP (Hawk European Limited Improvement Program) and from 1981 to 1983 through the PIP I (Product Improvement Program). Since the system will remain in service until after the year 2000, an operational requirement was issued in 1984 for additional combat effectiveness-preserving measures. These include:

- Measures to extend the life cycle (among other things, major repair of major equipment items, replacement of parts, components and elements scheduled for exchange at periodic intervals),

- Technological improvements in the HPIR illumination radar,
- Improving the hit accuracy of the missiles under electronic warfare conditions,
- Improving the acquisition possibilities under electronic warfare conditions and improving the exchange of air situation data in joint operations (removal of combat control equipment),
- Introduction of an optronic sensor to support target tracking/illumination in an electronic warfare environment,
- Improving the firepower.

A first package incorporating essentially the first three measures listed above is to be implemented in the years 1987 to 1993; a combined definition and development package is to begin still this year.

12689/9190
CSO: 3620/291

COASTAL ARTILLERY TO ACQUIRE SWEDISH-MADE RBS-15 MISSILES

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 14 May 87 p 3

[Article by Jukka Knuuti: "New Portable Anti-Naval Missiles for Coastal Artillery"]

[Text] Finland's coastal defense will become more effective in a decisive manner in the near future with the procurement of new Swedish-made RBS-15 coastal missiles. The coastal artillery will receive a prototype of the missile for its use this year already.

The new missile batteries will be portable, which will mean that they will be mounted on trucks, as has been done in Sweden. The missile is familiar to the Finns from before since the Helsinki class missile boats are equipped with its naval version.

The choice of missile was made public by Colonel Jukka Karvinen when he spoke on Tuesday at the anniversary celebrations of the Finnish Coastal Artillery Regiment. He said that the budget appropriation will make the procurement of new missiles possible. The defense forces will not say any more about the procurements in this initial phase.

The same type of missiles have been the subject of an animated debate in Sweden. According to the most recent defense decision, four missile batteries will be procured there.

The missiles and the auxiliary equipment required for them will be mounted on trucks so that it will be easy to conceal the system or move it quickly from one place to another. Since the range of the missile is approximately 100 kilometers, it is capable of closing off the Gulf of Finland, for example.

Better Than Exocet

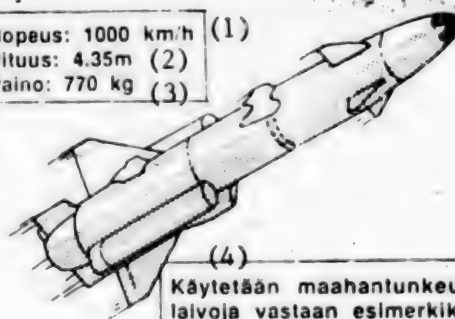
The RBS-15 missile is considered to be better than the French Exocet, which achieved fame in the Falklands, for example. The missile can find its target by means of its own computer and radar. In addition, its computer always selects the largest ship as its target.



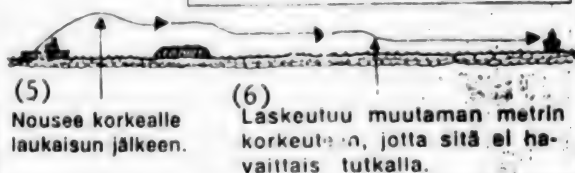
Stationary coastal defense has been renewed. Fortifications have been equipped with the Tampella 130 millimeter heavy turret gun. Its series procurements have been completed and reservists have already been trained on it. The coastal missile RBS-15, on the other hand, can be launched from a ship or a truck, for example.

Rannikko-ohjus RBS-15

Nopeus: 1000 km/h (1)
Pituus: 4.35m (2)
Paino: 770 kg (3)



(4)
Käytetään maahantunkeutujan laivoja vastaan esimerkiksi laivasta tai kuorma-autoon rakennetulta laukailusta. Etsii itse maalinsa tutkan avulla. Saabin ja Boforsin yhteinen tuote.



(5)
Nousee korkealle laukaisun jälkeen.

(6)
Laskeutuu muutaman metrin korkeuteen, jotta sitä ei havaittaisi tutkalla.

Coastal Missile RBS-15

Key:

1. Speed: 1000 km/h
2. Length: 4.35 meters
3. Weight: 770 kilograms
4. Used against invading ships from a carriage mounted on a ship or truck, for example. It finds its own target with the help of radar. A joint product of Saab and Bofors.
5. Rises high after launching.
6. Descends to a height of a few meters so that it is not observed by radar.

The procurement price of the missiles is also not revealed, but it is said that the price of the four missile batteries procured by Sweden is 200 million kronor, or approximately 140 million markkas.

Finland's coastal artillery has at its disposal Soviet SS-N-2 Styx missiles, which are beginning to become obsolete. In addition, French SS-11 missiles, which at the time were procured for anti-tank defense, are being used as channel defense missiles.

New Anti-Aircraft Missiles

Anti-aircraft defense has also received new missiles. The new missiles are Soviet-made, but with the Western name SA-14 Gremlin. In Finland they are known as the 86 Igla near range anti-aircraft missile.

The Igla follows the Soviet Strela missile, which has been in use. The decisive improvement is that while the Strela was able to shoot down a departing aircraft, the Gremlin can also fire at an attacking aircraft.

The missiles find their target with the help of infrared seekers. The older Strela needs a major source of heat, the hot rear section of a jet engine. The Gremlin's improved seeking unit senses an aircraft's forward surface when it becomes heated by atmospheric friction already and seeks them out.

The Gremlin, which is fired from the shoulder, weighs 18.7 kilos and has a range of 5 kilometers horizontally and 3 kilometers vertically.

Target Missiles Unresolved

Anti-aircraft missiles which can reach a higher distance of 3--5 kilometers are also being procured for anti-aircraft defense. Their procurement process is in the works and a decision will possibly be forthcoming this year.

Target anti-aircraft missiles represent an expensive investment, which will consume hundreds of millions of markkas.

10576

CSO: 3617/109

INDUSTRIES CLAIM HIGH ENERGY COSTS HURT COMPETITIVENESS

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 15 Jun 87 p 24

[Article by jas., Duesseldorf: "'Electric Power Costs Fifty Percent Up Here'; Retail Trade and Steel Industry Complain About Passing on of Costs"]

[Text] The coal protection policy and the higher electric power prices resulting therefrom and other charges increasingly meet with criticism in wide areas of the German economy. For, according to the claim, this policy leads to competitive imbalances in international business dealings and imposes burdens on the enterprises which can hardly be passed on to the consumer. In the opinion of the BAG (Federal Study Group of Medium and Large Retail Trade Establishments), Cologne, following a dispute on the price of electricity with the North Rhine-Westphalian Land Antitrust Division, not even the control of abusive practices provided for in the law works in this area.

BAG is especially angry over the fact that its member firms in North Rhine-Westphalia had the electricity delivery contracts canceled on them and, according to the new contracts, an environmental surcharge of two pfennig per kwh (kilowatt-hour) must now be paid in addition. Since it is not possible to switch to other energy supply enterprises, this means a 10 percent increase of its electricity bill. The additional charges for the BAG members (sales: DM 46 billion) amount to DM 35 million annually. BAG is of the opinion that this complete shifting of the environmental costs to the consumers of the electricity is not justified. The retail trade is also unable to pass on cost increases in full and automatically to the consumers.

To quote BAG in this respect: "When the federal minister for economic affairs now examines in which areas the antitrust legislation is to be changed, then we emphatically plead in favor of inclusion of more competition in the field of power supply companies and that these fields, too, must operate according to market economy criteria." The North Rhine Westphalian Land Antitrust Authority and the Economics Ministry respectively, have provided only a "hardly satisfactory response" to objections in this respect.

The Iron and Steel Industry Association is also not very satisfied with the coal and electricity price policy, respectively, as clearly stated by President Heinz Kriwet to the '87 membership meeting. In this connection he mentioned the following pairs of numbers: For contracts in the steel industry, the price of electricity in Italy on 1 January 1984 was about 9.3 pfennig/kwh and on 1 April 1984, 5.8 pfennig/kwh. In Great Britain the corresponding figures were 10.3 and 6.8 pfennig, respectively; in France, 7.9 and 7.4 pfennig, respectively. Thus there was a clear price reduction for electricity in all three countries. In the FRG, on the other hand, the prices rose from 9.4 to 10.7 pfennig. According to Kriwet, "The electricity for steel customers in the FRG costs about 50 percent more than in the countries of our most important competitors.

With a consumption of electricity in the German steel industry of about 20 billion kwh a year, this difference amounts to over DM 800 million a year. In addition there is the self-retention when German coal is purchased. In addition to the obligation to purchase the sinter fuels at terms far above world market prices, according to Kriwet there resulted a special charge for the German metallurgical plants of over DM 250 million. In other words: If the German steel industry in 1986 had been able to purchase coke and coal at world market prices its profit and loss accounts would have been credited a quarter billion DM.

12356

CSO: 3620/273

EDITORIAL FAVORS DISMANTLING OF AGRICULTURAL PRICE SUPPORTS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 23 Jun 87 p 1

[Editorial by Klaus Peter Krause: "The Opportunity for Agriculture"]

[Text] Agriculture in the FRG and in the EC as a whole is faced with an agricultural-policy shambles. The European ministers of agriculture continue to be faced by it: deeply worried, deeply split, lacking determination to do what is right. It is not any different with regard to their heads of government who are meeting once again at the end of June for an EC summit meeting. The state price support has financially failed. But the forces of inertia nonetheless want to keep it alive at the price of entangling agriculture even more in state dirigism and in dependence on the state. The forces of revival, on the other hand, want to free agriculture from the entanglement and gradually incorporate it into the market economy. For only things that have proved their worth should be maintained. Price support has not stood the test.

Thus for the second time in this century does agriculture receive the opportunity to follow the market economy path. Opportunities present themselves for grabbing them, not for missing them. Agriculture missed the first opportunity. It occurred at the end of World War II. But agriculture did not seize the opportunity at that time. Thus the new agricultural-policy sinning took place; it was as profound as the first one far back in connection with Bismarck's 1880 grain duty. The beginning was the November 1950 grain law and the disaster took its course.

Now at the latest agriculture ought to decide on a (cautious) about-face in direction of the market economy and not leave the field even more to the agricultural bureaucrats. By this path agriculture, too, may see the opportunity for itself to better master the present and the future instead of feeling and dismissing this path only as an outrageously unreasonable demand. The fact that this opportunity is not a figment of the imagination of impractical desk-bound strategists can be documented (among other things) by the following considerations and facts:

Thus far the farmers have not yet said that they do not want to be independent entrepreneurs. This desire for freedom has better chances to become reality in a market economy agricultural policy because it releases additional personal energies among the farmers to operate according to their own ideas instead of those of the state and to take advantage of the freedom in which to develop.

The farmers have been complaining for years that they are dependent on the Brussels decisions. Especially the experience with the imposition of milk quotas and with the present new quota reductions has made the entrepreneurial farmers aware of what happens when an entire branch of the economy cannot free itself of the coattails of the state, when as an eternal mother's pet it will never grow up, when the apron strings of the state become a heavy chain. Now there is a threat of the imposition of grain quotas. But by resorting to the market economy, there is the chance for becoming free of the dependence and the chains. Less dependence signifies more freedom and more freedom triggers additional entrepreneurial forces.

The differences in income among full-time farmers are great. The 25-percent top enterprises earn 29 times as much as the 25 percent that bring up the rear. The all-important factors are the differences in the ability of the farmers, outstanding personal qualities. Whoever is able to stand the test with these qualities in the constraints and the imponderables of the Brussels decisions will definitely stand his ground in the market economy, must see opportunities in it, not ruin.

Many farmers have been exposed to the market economy for a long time and must make do without state support prices (fryer and hog fatteners and laying hen holders). If they know how to take care of their opportunities under these circumstances, their occupational colleagues must also be capable of doing so. Other farmers have also found their way in the market economy and earn in it most of their income: the many who are farmers as a sideline. Other examples are the Danish farmers who have previously been exposed to the market economy, namely prior to Denmark's membership in the EC, and held their ground in it.

This list is not exhaustive. Undoubtedly, market economy in agriculture cannot occur abruptly. Also prosperity will not break out immediately and everywhere with the market economy; that doesn't occur after so many years of agricultural protectionism. Results of the market economy may also be moderated when they become too harsh and are not compatible with the prevailing social ideas. But the softening of the effects must be confined to the ones really affected and the needy: that is the purpose of the social policy interventions in the market economy.

Undoubtedly the farmers have something to lose by turning away from the price support; market economy is not only opportunity but also gamble. But on the other hand there is what the farmers also lose with the continued price support and what can be gained by abandoning it. Therefore courage and confidence should outweigh with respect to the market economy in place of undue fearfulness and self-pity.

12356

CSO: 362/273

HARD-LINE CP PAPER ON USSR TRADE

Helsinki TIEDONANTAJA in Finnish 25 Mar 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Counter Purchases from the USSR"]

[Text] The Tiedonantaja will today report on the Central Association of Industry's stand on the concept of return purchases, the you buy from me I'll buy from you idea, in connection with USSR trade. They have circulated a letter to companies warning them against making purchases which might "harm" the interests of other Finnish concerns or which could "hamper normal commerce."

Return purchases--if not actual joint production or compensatory purchase agreements in trade--are one of the means of conducting trade that has been used in international commerce. Actual return purchases have not played a big part in Finnish-Soviet trade but in some instances return purchases are one way to increase imports from the USSR thereby creating opportunities for exports.

Of course Soviet trade needs to be balanced on a nationwide basis instead of each company on its own. Nevertheless each company engaged in Soviet trade also has a great responsibility which the Central Association of Industry appears to downplay with its concern about return purchases. Besides, when have return purchases from the USSR ever hurt the interests of any Finnish company or hampered normal trade?

Increasing and diversifying imports from the USSR is a topic about which we would like to see the Central Association of Industry circulate letters to companies.

13002/13104

CSO: 3617/84

STATISTICS SHOW RISE IN BALANCE OF TRADE DEFICIT

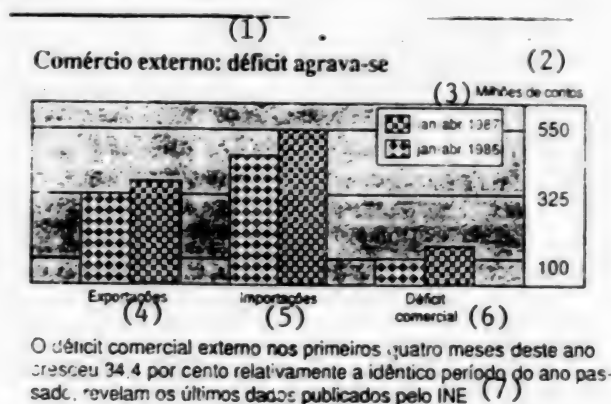
Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 3 Jul 87 p 4-E

[Excerpt] During the first 4 months of this year, the negative balance in our foreign trade worsened by more than a third.

And this is excluding the airplanes which caused so much controversy 2 months ago.

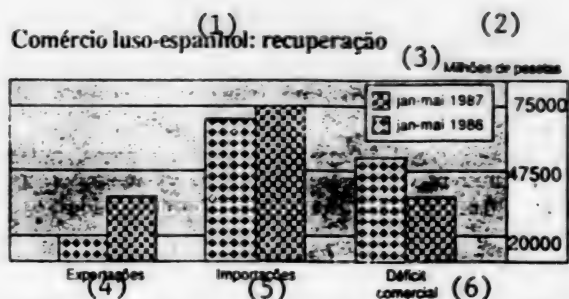
However, we are reacting well to the Spanish challenge: our exports increased significantly, more than did imports up until last May.

Other good news: a slight improvement in the number of employed, and increases (albeit moderate) in investment.



Key to Chart 1:

1. Foreign trade: deficit worsens
2. Millions of contos
3. Apr
4. Exports
5. Imports
6. Trade deficit
7. The foreign trade deficit during the first 4 months of this year increased 34.4 percent over the same period last year, as the latest data published by INE [National Statistics Institute] reveal.



O déficit comercial com a Espanha diminuiu cerca 28,3 por cento nos primeiros cinco meses deste ano, reve am os últimos dados da Direcção-Geral das Alfândegas do país vizinho (7)

Key to Chart 2:

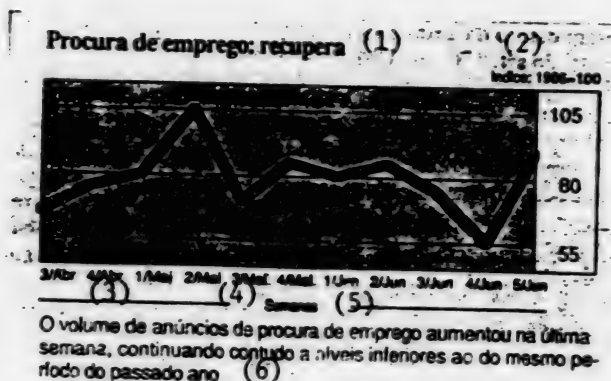
1. Portuguese-Spanish trade: recovery
2. Millions of pesetas
3. May
4. Exports
5. Imports
6. Trade deficit
7. The trade deficit with Spain declined nearly 28.3 percent during the first 5 months of this year, as the latest data from the neighboring country's General Directorate of Customs reveal.



O número de empregados aumentou no primeiro trimestre deste ano cerca de 1,7 por cento, revelam os dados do último inquérito trimestral ao emprego efectuado pelo INE (4)

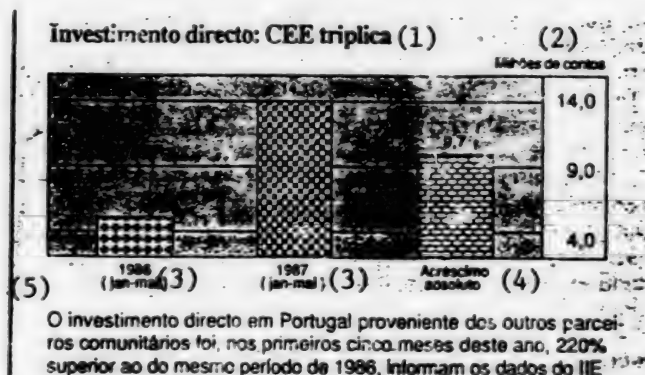
Key to Chart 3:

1. Employment market: improvement
2. Millions of individuals
3. Quarter
4. The data from the last quarterly survey of employment made by INE disclose that the number of employed increased almost 1.7 percent during the first quarter of this year.



Key to Chart 4:

1. Demand for employment: recovers
2. Index
3. Apr
4. May
5. Weeks
6. The number of ads seeking employees increased during the final week, although they are still at levels lower than during the same period last year.



Key to Chart 5:

1. Direct investment: EEC triples
2. Millions of contos
3. May
4. Absolute increase
5. Direct investment in Portugal coming from other Community partners exceeded that for the same period in 1986 by 220 percent during the first 5 months of this year, as IIE [Institute of Foreign Investment] data report.

2909

CS0: 3542/112

POLL SHOWS CONCERN OVER CONSUMPTION RISE

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 4 Jul 87 pp 1, 4-E

[Text] The May survey of the Businessmen/EXPRESSO panel discloses that over half (55.2 percent) of businessmen consider the expansion of domestic consumption to be "disturbing," while nearly a quarter (26.2 percent) regard the increase in this economic variable as "positive."

On the other hand, the number of those who think that "the government should already have adopted measures to curb consumption" declined to 39 percent; whereas a similar number (36.8 percent) claim that the Cavaco Silva executive branch "has already adopted them," and 23.7 percent say that such measures "should not be adopted." It should be noted that this is a variable the evolution of which has most clearly contradicted the government's predictions.

Along with this concern among the majority of businessmen over the increase in domestic consumption, the panel reveals that the preelection atmosphere has not affected the development of economic activity, which even improved over that in April, according to those queried.

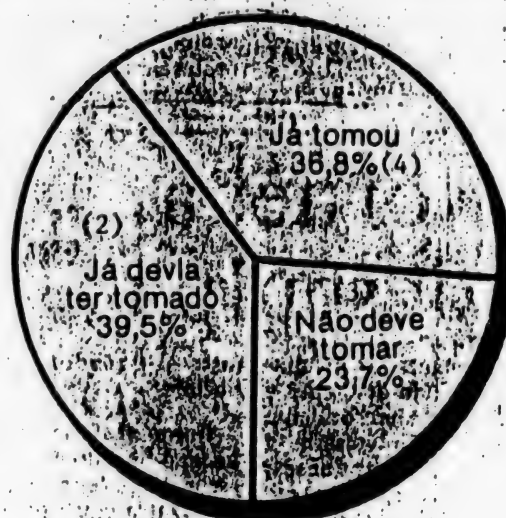
The "political instability" found its effect even reduced considerably in May, as a negative factor for business activity. Simultaneously, the "internal demand" and "external demand" appear as variables that have most influenced it positively.

The panel also made it possible to observe a breakdown in business prospects for the coming months: an ostensibly contradictory evolution, but one which may be related to the start of the vacation period, usually producing a seasonal low effect on the expectations of business owners.

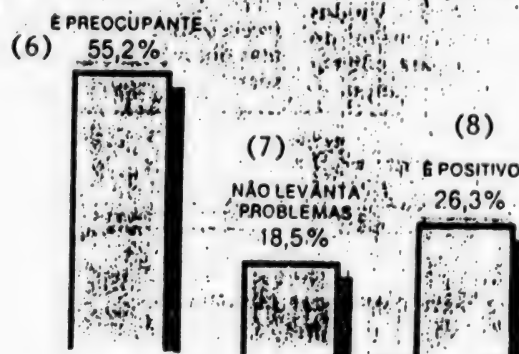
Key to Charts 1 and 2:

1. Should the government have adopted measures to curb consumption?
2. It should have done so already.
3. It should not do so.
4. It already has done so.
5. The increase in domestic consumption
6. Is disturbing.
7. Raises no problems.
8. Is positive.

(1) O Governo já devia ter tomado medidas para refrear o consumo?



(5) O crescimento do consumo interno



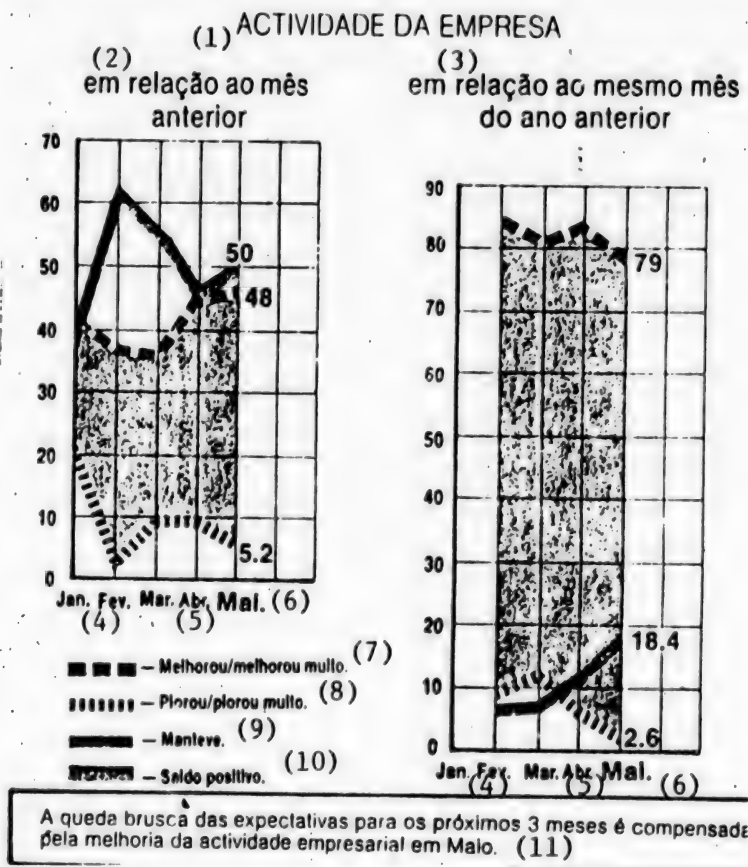
The convergence of a period of political indecision with the approach of the vacation period evoked responses of differing types regarding business activity and the prospects for the coming months.

For example, whereas one should stress the optimism that is clear in the number of responses considering activity in May to have improved over April (from 45.3 to 50 percent), the expectations for the next 3 months (including the "major" vacation period) show an obvious worsening (down from 76.2 to 55.2 percent).

In essence, this 21-point drop may result from a seasonal effect inherent in summer; also confirmed by an observation of the graph on prospects for the next 12 months: the negative tendency is now far less marked, with business owners' expectations remaining in a stable area close to 80 percent of the optimistic responses.

Also in comparison with May of last year, the business owners' opinion regarding the way in which their firms' activity is progressing now is largely favorable. Nearly 80 percent consider the progress of their business "better" and only 2.6 percent regard it as "worse," compared with a year ago.

In conclusion, it should be noted that this Businessmen/EXPRESSO panel includes a stable universe of 50 business owners.



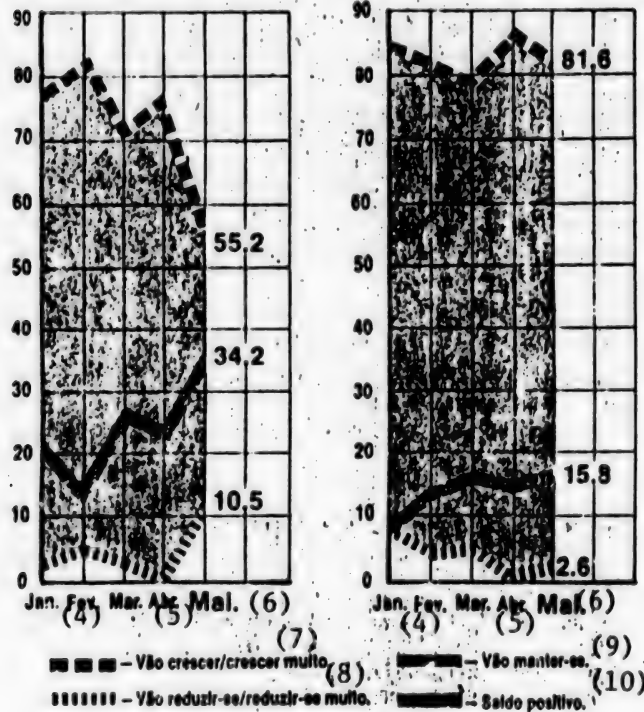
Key to Graph 1:

1. Business activity
2. In comparison with last month
3. In comparison with the same month last year
4. Feb
5. Apr
6. May
7. Improved/improved greatly
8. Worse/much worse
9. Remains the same
10. Positive balance
11. The sharp decline in expectations for the next 3 months is offset by the improvement in business activity during May.

(1) PERSPECTIVAS EMPRESARIAIS

(2) os negócios
nos próximos 3 meses

os negócios (3)
nos próximos 12 meses

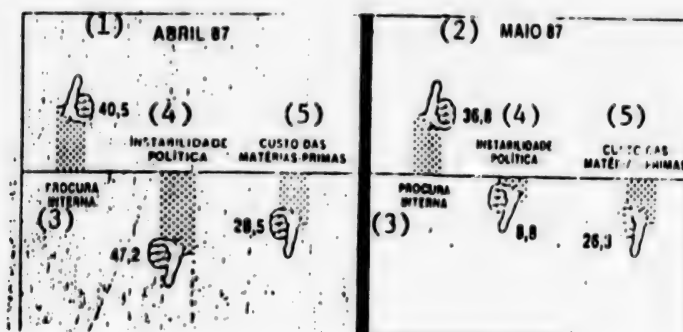


Key to Graph 2:

1. Business Prospects
2. Business over the next 3 months
3. Business over the next 12 months
4. Feb
5. Apr
6. May
7. Will increase/increase greatly
8. Will decline/decline greatly
9. Will remain the same
10. Positive balance

The Three Most

The three factors with the most influence over business activity remain identical to those in April, with a sizable reduction in the negative impact of the "political instability." The "internal demand", as usual, emerges as the main positive variable, and the "cost of raw materials" now appears even more prominent as the most negative element.



Key to Chart 1:

1. April
2. May
3. Internal demand
4. Political instability
5. Cost of raw materials

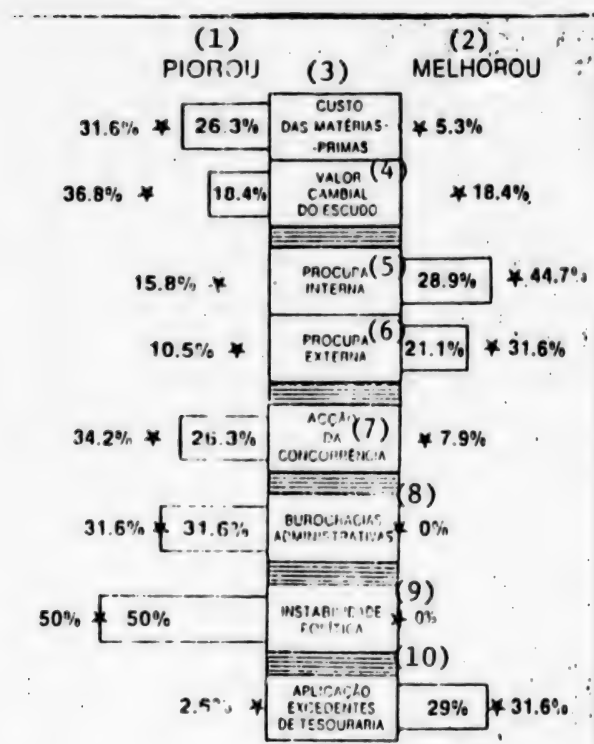
Political Instability Declines

The group of factors which most influenced business firms' activity in May retain a structure similar to that of the previous month. The most significant change results from the appreciable reduction in the negative effect of "political instability" (which dropped from 73.8 to 50 percent); this may be a consequence of the political clarification that the elections on 19 July may possibly permit.

The "cost of raw materials" also reduced its negative influence, while the "administrative bureaucracies" found their image worsened, not showing any improvements according to any of the businessmen queried. The rise in the "external demand" factor (from 12 to 21.1 percent) should be underscored, among other positive factors.

Key to Chart 2:

1. Became worse
2. Became better
3. Cost of raw materials
4. Exchange value of the escudo
5. Internal demand
6. External demand
7. Activity of the competition
8. Administrative bureaucracies
9. Political instability
10. Treasury surpluses application



2909

CSO: 3542/112

DETAILS ON FINANCIAL SITUATION OF EXPLOSIVES MANUFACTURING FIRM

Madrid MERCADO in Spanish 3-9 Jul 87 pp 25, 27

[Text] The Sharks Didn't Show Up

After the executives of ERT [Explosivos Rio Tinto] and Basf had denied that Basf had any sort of capital holdings in Jose Maria Escondrillas' company, the one unknown factor remaining was to find out if the Kuwaiti Investments Office has major stockholdings in ERT or not.

A few hours before the board meeting, Escondrillas and his staff had a package of 70 percent of the stock under their control: 18 percent in the hands of two of ERT's subsidiaries; 10 percent in the form of preferred stock (without voting rights and which can not be sold to investors other than the company itself) held by creditor banks in exchange for participatory loans made last year; there are also about 10 large stock packages (between 1 and 3 percent) purchased by European pension funds, insurance companies and banks, which have no interest at all in control, as these are merely financial investments. In addition, there are the shares held by about 25,000 stockholders, none of whom holds more than 1 percent.

The Unknown Factor Not Cleared Up

But naturally there is still a very large package of 30 percent which is not under ERT's control. Company sources told MERCADO that it would be practically impossible for the KIO [Kuwaiti Investments Office] to have in its hands a large enough percentage of the stock to allow them to gain control. In the first place, because of the dispersion of the stockholders, which complicates an operation of such a nature. In the second place, a factor which is just as important, ERT is an industry that is considered strategic because of its defense activities, so any foreign participation exceeding 20 percent has to be approved by the government.

What nobody is denying (not even the KIO people) is that they do control a significant number of shares. Some sources have estimated their stock holdings at 10 percent (somewhat less than 4 million shares). This investment would

seem to fit the Kuwaiti group's logic, as a long-term strategy without any intention of gaining control—something similar to what they did in the Central Bank. This percentage, if they should decide to exercise that right, would give them the option of naming a board member to ERT.

A few weeks ago there was speculation about negotiations between ERT and KIO for the purchase of ERT's refinery in Huelva (whose assets are valued at 42.270 billion pesetas). This rumor lent more force to the views of people who felt that KIO wanted to get into ERT. Still, ERT has never negotiated with KIO, but instead with another Kuwaiti firm, Kuwait Petroleum Co, with which it has obviously not reached any agreement. The Spanish company never intended to sell all of its refinery, which generates profits of 7.353 billion pesetas. What was always offered to potential purchasers was a package of 50 percent of the stock.

Capital Increase

The new development at the board meeting was the chairman's proposal to engage in two capital increases: one for 3 billion pesetas and the other for 3.5 billion. These capital increases could not be underwritten by "normal" stockholders, but only by the lending banks. This is a way of moving ahead with the negotiations on the recovery of the participatory loans from the creditor banks (there are about 40 billion pesetas in participatory credits). What they are being offered is either to exchange their preferred stock for normal shares in the company; or otherwise, to exchange their participatory credits for these shares.

In any event, this issue has to be resolved before the end of this year. Jose Maria Escondrillas' company has gotten through the ordeal of the general stockholders' meeting, but the suspense remains. The KIO's shadow continues to hang over the future of Explosivos Rio Tinto.

This large stock package—around 30 percent—without any specific owners, or perhaps without owners who are attached to their ownership of this stock, and therefore people who would be willing to sell depending on circumstances, will remain a sword of Damocles suspended over the future decisions and actions of Jose Maria Escondrillas and his management team.

7679

CSO: 3548/97

URBAN HOUSING SHORTAGE UNITES DISCONTENTED 'SURPLUS' YOUTH

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 31 Jan 87 p 31

[Text] The Common Cause of Denmark's Thousands of Surplus Youth is Homelessness. The youth is a fugitive from the police. He is in an attic room of a building in an ill-reputed part of the city and just as befits a story about the miserable ones the corners of the room are frosty from the cold.

He is a member of the tail end of society in a state known for its liberal mindedness and high standard of living. He is one of those whom Danish sociologists call "the ugly ducklings." Here in the Vesterbo district of Copenhagen there are plenty of them: drug addicts, whores, bums, AIDS victims, Danes that are misfits for one reason or another, and an ever increasing number of immigrants.

A comparatively new group to add to the above are the building occupiers who call themselves the BZ. This name is derived from the German word "besetzt" which means occupied in the military sense. They are a collection of the uneducated, jobless, moneyless and homeless into a gang. Building occupation is not a new phenomenon but the BZ phenomenon is spurred by a tradition of abject hopelessness. The BeeZees are testing the limits of society's tolerance of violence.

Full Scale War at the Barricades

This youth's flight began last September after a full scale war had been waged on a couple of blocks of Copenhagen. For a week stones and Molotov cocktails were hurled from behind barricades. Hundreds of liters of gasoline had been stockpiled in the dilapidated houses. The human shapes at the barricades were masked up to their eyes.

Three years ago a handful of homeless, young, school dropouts had raised a skull and crossbones flag on the roof of a building they had occupied. When the building owner, a public benefit housing company, wanted to vacate the rundown building for thorough repairs the residents set up a resistance. They refused to pay the higher rent that would result from the remodeling.

Hundred of supporters rallied to their side from somewhere and a crowd of spectators swelled as the occupation continued.

At one point the occupiers even agreed to move elsewhere, into compensatory housing provided by the city. Then at the last minute they changed their minds and declared war on all society.

Police bearing all sorts of weapons were brought to the scene from all over Denmark and army helicopters chopped the sky while photographing the occupiers' battle stations.

The Youths Were Shown Understanding

Some well-meaning private citizens offered to buy the hovel and allow the occupiers to fix it according to their own tastes. The occupiers did not fall for that, however. After both parties exchanged threats for a while the authorities agreed to the demands of the occupiers. According to these the building was to be remodeled as terms dictated by the occupiers specified. The drama ended with a peace treaty agreed to in a Danish carnival mood. The youths were shown understanding.

How did the young man of our story react to this behind the barricades? The publicity flattered the occupiers who read with great interest the long, pictorial articles about themselves in the afternoon tabloids.

Our young man comments: the police did not like their equipment nor their uniforms which are patterned after police uniforms in West Germany, South Africa and Chile. He names the foreign countries hesitantly and could not point to them on a map. He wears a Palestinian scarf on his neck but knows nothing of its meaning.

Anywhere else a week-long block war would have resulted in charges, trials and sentences but not in Denmark. On the contrary the policemen's union has gone on record as expressing a reluctance to use force. The police do not want to oppose the youth for they can understand that these youth have as an objective.

Then in October the youths went a step further. They tampered with property owned by West Germans and that was too much even for the Danish police. First to be destroyed was the West German Culture Center including its library and on the very next day firebombs and acid were thrown into buildings occupied by the AEG corporation and the DPA news bureau.

The destruction of the West German Culture Center took place only hours after police in Hamburg had attacked and treated roughly building occupiers in their own city.

Officially Danes deny foreign connections. Says our young man: "Of course BeeZees help each other across borders for that is how the enemy operated." He is reciting lines he has learned from others.

Some of his comrades had explained that the intention had not been to harm something connected with culture but others had criticized the culture center as having displays that were too one sided and too supportive of the establishment.

Such complicated trains of thought are beyond our young man. He condemns terrorism and wants to live at peace with his neighbors.

On the other hand he feels it is essential to protest the "abominable" housing policies of Denmark and, especially, Copenhagen. He knows that prime minister Poul Schluter tells youths they should live with their own parents.

His rhetoric is familiar: does anything matter when the whole world is going to shit anyway? On the other hand he describes the surrounding world as being primarily plastic.

The Children of the Rebellion Year

The young man was born in that memorable year, 1968, when there was rebellion even in Denmark.

Last September's barricades and burning cars brought back memories. The clothing fashions of today's building occupiers in Denmark are not much different from those of 1968 either.

That earlier rebellion, too, was against bourgeois values and materialism. Even so, it was, when compared to the 82 movement, the rebellion of the intelligentsia who believed in the future, new freedom and the development of culture and technology.

The eighteen year old of today is a voluntary dropout despite having grown up with the blessings of a high standard of living.

Statistics show there are 40,000 surplus youths who have dropped out of school. Homelessness is a symbolic aspect of their lives for almost one million youths compete for 35,000 youth residences. Overall the housing situation in Denmark is still better than in many another country and it is very much a point of focus for planners.

In Denmark two out of every three applicants get into post-secondary schools. It is, therefore, fair to say that the doors of education are wide open when compared with many other countries.

The spirit of 1968 still lives in the College of Sociology. There "anti-authority" students loudly deride the "capital logicians" who swear upon the name of Marx. Younger students listen to their derision in amazement.

The university leadership is recommending the termination of the College of Sociology basing their recommendation on high unemployment and the poor reputation of the institute.

In Denmark's scientific circles the future means microelectronics and biotechnology.

But ill feeling is widespread. "For the last ten years it has been tough to be a youth in Denmark but from now on it will be easier," Schluter promised in his New Year's speech. The prime minister felt his government could offer youth a "less conventional society."

It is impossible to imagine how such a promise could ever help the young man of our story.

/13104

CS0: 3617/51

RESULTS OF SURVEY ON NATIONALISM IN SOUTH TYROL

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 9 May 87 p 6

[Article by Xaver Zauberer: "Poll of 500 Citizens: Are the Italians of Bolzano Too Nationalistic?"]

[Text] Bolzano—On 12 May 1987, administrative elections were held in the Alto Adige. The MSI became the strongest party in Bolzano and the chief town of the Alto Adige won the inauspicious record of being "the most fascist city in Europe." That result was generally interpreted as a "protest vote" against the very special autonomy of the Alto Adige, felt by a great part of the Italian population to be a sort of entanglement that was very troubling.

But it was not just a protest vote, say some South Tyrolese sociologists and political scientists in an inquiry regarding the significance of that vote, an inquiry based on an opinion poll of a sampling of 500 Italian-language citizens of Bolzano and of Laives (a small town adjacent to the chief town).

A "protest vote," if so, supported by strong nationalism, maintains the study, "Nationalism and Neo-Fascism in the South Tyrol," according to researchers.

Thirty-eight percent of the Italians of Bolzano are convinced, in fact, that the German-language minority should not be under the tutelage of the Special Statute, and that bilingualism should not be required in public offices (44 percent) because "we are in Italy and it is right that Italian be spoken" (40 percent).

In addition, 40 percent of those questioned believe that fascism was not unfair to the South Tyrolese and 25 percent consider the fascist monument to Victory as "a just symbol of the Italian national character in Bolzano" or, at the most, a monument like many others (60 percent).

The reply to the following disconcerting convictions comes from the same poll: almost half of those interviewed do not know what the ethnic proportion is (that is, the measure that stipulates the distribution of public positions and working class housing proportionately in accordance with the consistency of linguistic groups). All the same, 90 percent reject it, as they tendentiously reject other basic issues having a bearing on the Alto Adige autonomy.

Another negative element present among the Italian-speaking population is that of the "single language." Only 9 percent of the Italians speak German well, almost 70 percent never use it at all, while about four-fifths do not understand the South Tyrolese dialect. Therefore, that is why 9 out of 10 never read the German page of the Italian daily, ALTO ADIGE, and never look at German-language television programs.

Conclusion of the researchers: the less a person knows of the South Tyrolese reality, the more he is inclined to think about autonomy, proportional representation, bilingualism--and the more he tends toward nationalism"--and the MSI has speculated on all of this.

Aided--it must be emphasized--by the disengagement of the forces that have administered the autonomy, the Volkspartei and Christian Democracy, with regard to making known its real significance and not paying attention to the structural changes that were objectively troubling the Italian group.

Why was the poll taken only among the Italians? Because it was boycotted among the German population by the intervention of an office of the Provincial Council, acknowledged by the German-language media. However, the researchers have declared that the poll will also be taken among the German-language population.

8255

CSO: 3528/135

ISTAT POLL SHOWS TRADITIONAL FAMILY WORK STRUCTURES

Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 29 May 87 p 39

[Article by Roberto Petrini: "A Look At the Post 1978 Family: He Goes to His Office; She Stays Home; and the Son Follows in His Father's Line of Work"]

[Text] After 20 years of feminism, in 80 percent of Italian marriages it is still the man who earns the sole salary, while only 11.5 percent of women are employed. The myth of social mobility has also been exploded. Youths often choose the same occupation as that of their parents. But in 2,289,000 homes there is at least one unemployed person--11.4 percent, compared with 7.9 in 1980.

Rome--He leaves home in the morning to go to his office. She gets his coffee, gives him a little kiss, but is already thinking of how she will organize her day's household tasks: cleaning, dinner, the children's homework. His task is to succeed in a career; hers is the reproduction of the labor force. An unthinkable scenario after 1978 and 20 years of feminism? It seems that it is not really so.

The Central Statistics Institute (ISTAT) has looked deeply into our social fabric and completed an entirely new methodological study. ISTAT analysts, who usually provide separate data on the labor market and on families, this time have combined the two sociological categories. This was a complex job, but one that has yielded surprising results.

ISTAT percentages show that in 53.6 percent of Italian families those who are employed are males. In 35 percent of cases both men and women bring home a salary. While in only 11.5 percent of the families of our country only women go out to work. But there is more: when in an Italian family it is up to only one of the members to produce an income, in 80.4 percent of cases it is the man who assumes this role.

ISTAT also provides data on families composed of only two persons. When the man is employed, the woman in the homemaker in 56.9 percent of the cases and only in 37.7 percent of these families do both spouses work. Women do not succeed in becoming part of the work force, even in place of a husband. The research shows that even when the husband is unemployed, in 59.1 percent of cases the wife stays home as a homemaker, while the number of families in which the wife is employed and the husband is not rises to 37.7 percent.

The research of the Central Statistics Office, which depicts Italian reality as of October 1986, discloses still another aspect. In Italy there are almost 6 million families, equal to 29.3 percent of the total, completely outside the work force. The members of these nuclei, for the most part retirees on a pension, are not employed and are not even looking for employment. In 35.1 percent of Italian families only one person works. Then there are 5.4 million nuclei, equal to 27 percent of the total, in which two persons work. In only 8.6 percent of cases three or more persons in a household are employed.

ISTAT also notes that in 69.4 percent of families consisting of only one person, the sole member is unemployed. The percentage of those who are unemployed and are not even seeking work goes down to 49.6 percent in families having two members. In only 1.7 percent of families with five or more members is no one employed.

The data on unemployment, from the viewpoint of families, are rather preoccupying. There are 2,289,000 Italian families that have at least one unemployed person at home. 11.4 percent of family groups have the serious problem of trying to find work for one or two sons. This is a percentage that has clearly risen in the past 7 years: in 1980, in fact, there were 7.9 percent of families with one unemployed member at home. Even more dramatic is the result that ISTAT obtained by combining the data of the employed with those of the unemployed. It was ascertained that in 1,176,000 families in which there is one, or more, unemployed, there is also only one member who works. There are 560,000 families in which no member works.

And then there is the phenomenon that ISTAT calls "attraction," which is concerned with the relationship of occupation and the family. In this case, too, it seems that the social mobility of which there is much talk is much less evident than is thought. Sons in many cases choose the work of their fathers. ISTAT discloses that in families in which the oldest employed person, presumably the father, is a self-employed worker, the youngest employed person, usually the son, in 55.7 percent of cases follows in the footsteps of the father, while only 44.3 percent choose to work under an employer. And, vice versa, when the head of family is an employed worker, 88.4 percent of the sons choose to follow the example of the father and only 11.6 percent succeed in formulating a different life pattern from that which, because of tradition or opportunity, becomes readily available to him.

And the sector of economic activity also confirms the picture of an Italy unexpectedly bound to traditional values. If a father works in agriculture, in 58.8 percent of cases the son follows the example of the father. And in industry 49.9 percent of sons prefer to remain in the same line of work as that of their fathers.

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